

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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## OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF NOTABLE PERSONS

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As important as the study of spatial or geographical mobility<sup>1</sup> is the study of movement from one occupation to another. Indeed, because most occupational mobility involves movement from one social position or relationship to another one higher or lower in the system of social values, it is even more important to sociologists than territorial movements. It should be supposed that the length of experience in a vocation, together with intensity of practice, and the capacity for learning and using the knowledge learned are of great importance for making achievements and for gaining recognition for achievements. If all of these characteristics are possessed in a superior degree by one person compared with another, then it should be expected that recognition would be greater for the former. To be sure, other conditions, such as health, economic status, originality, social adjustability, and social status, would also have to be relatively favorable to the same person for eminence to be secure, but if all other factors should be constant and the time or intensity of concentration in the occupation be the only variable factors, it should still be expected that eminence would be obtained by the person who begins earliest and

<sup>1</sup> Mapheus Smith, "The Mobility of Eminent Men," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22:452-61, 1938.



concentrates most intensively in an occupation. If a person of relatively high ability devotes all of his time and energy to any line of work, he should be expected to accomplish much in it. He may not really lead very much because of poor social adjustment, but he should know more and contribute more to the development of that occupation than one who does not concentrate so much or begin so early. The one exception to the association between stability and recognition would occur where recognition depends not so much upon concentration of effort and superiority of knowledge as upon apparent versatility, facility in achievement, and verbosity. And even this exception really would operate only when the person who is versatile is also superior in some way that offsets the greater amount of application of the plodder. Concert artists, in general, illustrate this. Almost all musicians, whether great composers or not, begin their training early. The great ones are often technically perfect at the age of twelve or even ten years, and they continue to spend many hours daily in practice. The exceptions are very few, although they are occasionally described.<sup>2</sup> Eminence in this field thus seems to be closely related to amount of time spent in training. There is no record of a first-rate concert musician who was in other occupations in his childhood and 'teens and then began a musical career. The same is true of graphic artists, inventors, poets, and to some extent others.

Some suggestive evidence on occupational persistence is at hand in a study of 100 merchants and manufacturers compared with 100 artists and authors. The results, given in Table I, indicate that only 6 merchants and manufacturers made as many as two changes and these were to closely related fields, while 85 per cent did not change more than once after reaching maturity, and then only

<sup>2</sup> For instance, see B. S. Burks, D. Jensen, and L. M. Terman, *The Promise of Youth* (Stanford University, 1930), p. 322 ff.



to a somewhat related line of work. The artists and authors changed somewhat more, 13 per cent making as many as two changes closely related, while 78 per cent did not change any more than once and then to a some-

TABLE I

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO VOCATIONAL PERSISTENCE  
OF 100 MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS AND 100 ARTISTS  
AND AUTHORS<sup>3</sup>

<i>Points on Scale</i>	<i>Merchants and Manufacturers</i>	<i>Artists and Authors*</i>
1	1	1
2	2	1
3	2	8
4	1	3
5	9	9
6	15	4
7	7	12
8	17	8
9	22	28
10	24	26
No. cases	100	100
Average points	7.7	7.6

\* A few actors and inventors are also included.

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and His Control of Men* (Revised Edition; New York, 1927), pp. 331-32. The cases were marked on the following scale of ten points:

10. Continued one line of activity as sole business throughout life.
9. Continued one line throughout life, but also engaged in related sublines.
8. Continued one line, but added unrelated sublines. The cleavage between this and the above is that here his personal attention is given to the sub-line whereas there money might have served instead, his life interest being partially diverted in No. 8.
7. Changed in maturity to closely related line of work. And it may be added that in none of these do "changes" refer to boyish interests and positions held. No. 7 means no serious break in personal interest.
6. Changed in maturity to somewhat related line of work.
5. Changed in maturity to entirely different line of work—a clear break in life interest. By "entirely different" is meant work in which his former experience would be of little or no service.
4. Made two changes, closely related.
3. Made two changes, somewhat related.
2. Made two changes unrelated.
1. Changed three or more times.



what related line of work. On the other hand, more than half the artists and authors continued in one line of work throughout life. Of both groups, only 9 persons changed once to entirely different lines. Both groups, as judged by the average population, changed very little, and fewer of both groups changed two and three times to unrelated fields than was true of the general population.<sup>4</sup> In general, this study is evidence in support of the contention that mobility of occupation is a handicap to recognition.

Further evidence of the importance of low occupational mobility comes from a study of "starred" American men of science. It was shown that the starred scientists graduated from college earlier than the nonstarred scientists.<sup>5</sup> This does not mean that they ceased activity early, for they were still affiliated with the field of recognition; but it does mean that length of service in a field, when combined with concentration of interests and efforts, is a factor of first importance in accounting for eminence. To this may also be added evidence from Pearce's study of occupational mobility of medical men included in Cattell's earlier lists of American scientists. Of the 238 men investigated, but a few had changed interest, and they changed only from one closely similar specialty to another: two anatomists had at one time been pathologists; three physiologists began as anatomists, making the change quite early in their careers; one anatomist had formerly been a physiologist; three pathologists were once anatomists and histologists.<sup>6</sup>

A few other items may be recorded. Of 389 master farmers, 68, or 17.5 per cent, had been school teachers, but only 17 of these were teachers very long before be-

<sup>4</sup> Compare data presented in P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927), pp. 424-28.

<sup>5</sup> A. T. Poffenberger, "The Development of Men of Science," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1:31-47, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> R. M. Pearce, "Analysis of the Medical Group in Cattell's 1,000 Leading Men of Science," *Science*, 42:277, 1915.



coming farmers. Thirty-nine others changed from some other occupation to farming, including 5 county agents, 4 merchants, 5 clerks and salesmen, 2 lumbermen, and one each of the following: miner, streetcar motorman, Y. M. C. A. secretary, minister, veterinary, physician, brick mason, stone mason, state boys' club leader, banker, grain dealer, locomotive fireman, mine brakeman, employee in a railroad shop, locomotive engineer, blacksmith, farm superintendent, tanner, sawmill laborer, pottery salesman, teamster, railroad contractor, and cemetery caretaker.<sup>7</sup>

Sorokin and his associates report considerable mobility both within and outside the occupation for prominent persons engaged in agricultural pursuits and whose biographies were included in *Rus.* A total of 89.7 per cent had held more than two positions, 29.4 per cent having held more than five, and 1.6 per cent more than ten different positions.<sup>8</sup> This mobility, however, is probably not excessive in view of the fact that most of the changes of position were in an "upward" direction within the same field. Nor is the contrast with scientists very significant, except as further evidence of a fundamental difference between the factors in superior recognition of scientists and agriculturists. Scientists gain relatively less from change in position and relatively more from the evaluation of actual work done. The stronger institutional affiliations of scientists also aid in recognition, so that a scientist resident for a long time in the same institution and rising through the levels of rank in that one situation has far more chance of recognition than a person exhibiting the same degree of stability in most other occupations.

Contrasted with these fragmentary data may be men-

<sup>7</sup> O. Hamer, *American Master Farmers and Their Education* (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1930), pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> P. A. Sorokin, *et al.*, "Farmer Leaders in the United States of America," *Social Forces*, 7:43, 1928.



tioned the fact that 56.5 per cent of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company policyholders changed occupation and 42.7 per cent changed industry at least once after the policy was taken out;<sup>9</sup> only 23.6 per cent of 24,442 employed boys in New York City between the ages of 16 and 18 did not change occupations;<sup>10</sup> and of 407 University of Minnesota alumni only 42.5 per cent did not change their occupations within fifteen years.<sup>11</sup> These figures indicate a greater occupational mobility than that of the prominent persons mentioned above; but the only fair comparison would be one which holds all factors constant except occupational mobility, and compares notable and ordinary people on that one item. Available data are entirely inadequate for such a purpose. What evidence there is suggests that the interoccupational mobility index of the professional groups is lower than that of the unskilled laborers and other "lower" occupational groups,<sup>12</sup> and higher than that of the notable men who have been studied. But the exact degree of interoccupational mobility of neither the "higher" occupational groups nor the prominent persons is known.

*Amount of mobility and degree of prominence.* Few studies have reported the relationship between amount of mobility and degree of prominence of position held. However, Lott, in his study of Montana leaders, found a positive relationship between mobility and status of position occupied at time of study. Persons occupying the highest positions had held an average of 4.6 positions; corresponding figures for those occupying medium and lowest positions, in order, were 4.1 and 3.9.<sup>13</sup> This asso-

<sup>9</sup> L. I. Dublin and R. J. Vane, "Shifting of Occupations among Wage Earners," *Monthly Labor Review*, 18:738, April, 1924.

<sup>10</sup> H. C. Burdge, *Our Boys* (Military Training Commission, 1921), p. 198.

<sup>11</sup> Mehus, mentioned by Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, p. 425. See also other references in the latter work.

<sup>12</sup> Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, pp. 426-27.

<sup>13</sup> E. H. Lott, *Rural Contributions to Urban Leadership in Montana* (Montana State College Agricultural Experiment Bulletin, No. 262, May, 1932), pp. 39-41.



ciation is impossible to understand without knowledge of other points. Was there a difference between the average age of the persons holding high, medium, and low positions? Was there a difference in the position in which they started that would help to account for the difference in amount of movement? What part of the movement was from one rank within an occupation to another rank within that occupation, and what part represented inter-occupational mobility? Answers to these questions are not available, but it is logical to suppose that a considerable amount of the shift in position was vertical intraoccupational movement; and since it is not specifically said that vertical intraoccupational mobility is excluded, Lott's evidence does not necessarily controvert the above-mentioned evidence that interoccupational mobility tends to be a handicap to eminence.<sup>14</sup>

*Amount of mobility, number of years between obtaining first and last position, and degree of prominence.* Because of the probability of a general positive association between the number of years elapsing since the time of obtaining the first position, the amount of occupational mobility, and the fact that more prominent leaders show more occupational mobility of all sorts than do other leaders, it might be expected that eminent men would exhibit a greater than average number of years between first and last positions held. There is a slight tendency for this to occur.<sup>15</sup> This slight association of

<sup>14</sup> Some data on one of the other questions are available. F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders* (New York, 1932), p. 222 ff., show that age of arriving at a given level of wealth increases with an increase in the amount of wealth. However, Lott's data on this, *op. cit.*, p. 38, showed the medium leaders to be older, followed in turn by the leaders of highest and lowest rank.

<sup>15</sup> However, there is no uniform tendency for occupational mobility to increase as the range of years between the time of obtaining the first and last position increases. Thus, Lott found that the average number of positions held by Montana leaders whose first position was obtained from 15 to 19 years before their last position was greater than for those whose first position had been obtained 20 or more years before (*op. cit.*, p. 41). And the same thing was true for the less important agricultural leaders studied by Sorokin, "Farmer Leaders in the United States of America," p. 44. Except for these instances, there was a certain amount of association between mobility and length of time since the prominent person obtained the first position.



elapsed time between first and last positions and amount of mobility helps to account for the greater mobility of the more important leaders. The association of these facts tends to support the contention that interoccupational mobility is a preventive of eminence. However, it should be recognized that only studies that are more definite than any hitherto published will disclose the true effect of occupational mobility upon degree of social recognition.

*Direction of occupational mobility.* Direction of occupational mobility theoretically may either be horizontal—that is, from an occupation on any level of a superior-inferior scale to another occupation of the same level—or vertical—that is, either to a superior occupation or to an inferior one. In order to treat occupational mobility exhaustively, we should have evidence on both sorts. But as yet enough information on horizontal occupational mobility is not available to indicate the effect of such movement on chances for eminence.

Knowledge of vertical mobility is somewhat more plentiful. As a general rule, downward movement in occupational affiliation is one of the most serious handicaps to eminence. Downward mobility of eminent men is conspicuous because of its absence. When eminent men exhibit any vertical mobility, it always has an upward direction. Occupational mobility accompanies eminence in all cases where upward mobility can occur, that is, in all cases where the person does not begin as a worker in an occupation at the top of the occupational pyramid.

*Speed and distance of vertical occupational movement.* There is some association between the original position of a person, the age at which he reaches his ultimate position, and the superiority of his ultimate position. According to Sorokin, those who were born wealthy became millionaires an average of ten years earlier than those born



poor and several years earlier than those of medium wealth.<sup>16</sup> And Taussig and Joslyn found that some of the major executives and other more important business executives rose to high business positions at an earlier age than children of laborers. Surprising enough, the sons of unskilled and semiskilled laborers rose earlier to superior positions than did sons of skilled laborers, farmers, and professional men. However, the sons of persons in the inferior occupations entered business earlier than the others, and they spent a longer period of time in reaching their position at the time of study than did those persons whose parents were in superior occupations.<sup>17</sup>

Evidence is not available for every aspect of the relationships between original position of a person, his final position, and the age of attaining this position. But speed should prove to be related to distance of movement, which fact would explain the earlier average age of arrival at a superior position by those who have superior positions at the beginning and who consequently have but a small distance to rise. This expectation in part depends upon a hypothesis of a relatively uniform speed of rise for persons, regardless of origin. Speed and distance would then determine the resulting age of attainment of the final position held by a person. There is no objective evidence that speed of vertical movement is uniform for persons of every origin, but, on the other hand, there is no indubitable evidence that speed is not constant.<sup>18</sup> Lott's study seems to prove the opposite, since the average age of persons who are superior leaders is almost five years less than that of the leaders in medium positions, but the explanation probably is that the groups of lower and

<sup>16</sup> P. A. Sorokin, "American Millionaires and Multimillionaires," *Social Forces*, 3:627-40, 1925.

<sup>17</sup> Taussig and Joslyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-329.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, pp. 454-55, for further evidence of the positive relationship between age and final position held.



medium-grade leaders contained many older people who had long since reached their limits of rise and were no longer moving in the social scale.<sup>19</sup>

There are many important questions connected with speed and distance of vertical movement of eminent men that deserve to be answered. But it should be borne in mind that simple studies of age of arrival at certain positions are relatively meaningless unless they include information on the distance covered in arriving at a certain position at a certain age.

*Other forms of mobility.* Other forms of social mobility have not been studied to any great extent in relationship to eminence, but they probably exhibit some of the general tendencies already mentioned. The main difference between occupational mobility, on the one hand, and economic and political mobility, on the other hand, is that horizontal mobility in the political and economic sense is relatively rare. Consequently, only vertical political and economic mobility can be studied in relation to eminence. Again it appears that upward mobility tends to accompany increase in social importance and in amount of prestige and recognition, and that downward mobility accompanies loss of prestige.

Change of affiliation in various groups more nearly resembles occupational shift in its relation to eminence. Shifts on the same general level of social status are likely to be slight handicaps, if the original associations were broken off entirely; upward shifts have effects ranging from no changes in chance of social recognition in the case of very slight upward movements to considerable superiority of recognition in the case of pronounced upward movements. To be sure, the possibility of mobility depends upon the original affiliation of the person and the consequent advancement in level of association that

<sup>19</sup> Lott, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.



he may experience. Downward movement again tends to be a severe handicap to greater recognition and destructive to that which previously existed.

These hypotheses—as do the interpretations of the occupational data already mentioned—rest upon the psychological effects of mobility which underlie the relationships of mobility and social recognition. Mobility involving cessation of old and an establishment of new relationships is a handicap to recognition, because the means of favorable contact between a man and those whom he influences—and upon whose judgments his eminence directly or indirectly rests—are severed, and during the time required to replace them the man's relative importance tends to wane.



## RACE AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT

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Perhaps no concept in the world of science is more in dispute than that of *race*. Some boldly assert their belief in doctrines of racial superiority and inferiority, often using their faith as justification for policies of imperialistic expansion and even of the forceful elimination of unwelcome minorities.<sup>1</sup>

Others, however, with equal confidence attack the very validity of any such conception of race. They present evidence that all races are mixed and that, if ethnic groups are not approximately the same in innate capacity for development, at least there is so much overlapping of ability that the best of the less capable groups excel the average individuals of the superior groups. Racial pride is, consequently, a dangerous myth, an elaborate rationalization used to justify mistreatment or oppression of competitors and enemies.<sup>2</sup>

A part of this confusion is certainly the result of confusion about what is meant by the term race. The biologists and physical anthropologists are in fair agreement that the word should be used to indicate "a subdivision of mankind having certain inborn physical traits in common."<sup>3</sup> Popular usage is, however, far less exact. A newspaper editorial refers to Americans as "a gullible race." A correspondent writes of the glories of the Smith family and concludes triumphantly, "We Smiths are not a nation; we are a race!"

Little wonder, then, that Huxley and Haddon were able to note at least six distinguishable uses of the word

<sup>1</sup> Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> Jacques M. Barzun, *Race, A Study in Modern Superstition* (New York, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Goldenweiser, *Anthropology* (London, 1937), p. 13.



race, several of them so contradictory and illogical that these authors in despair deliberately avoid the term and substitute the expressions "ethnic group" and "people." Their defense is that race has now "lost any sharpness of meaning" and "is hardly definable in scientific terms," largely because of the "lamentable confusion between the ideas of *race*, *culture*, and *nation*."<sup>4</sup>

It should be remembered, however, that a word is not to be defined by what it should mean but rather by what people have come to use it to mean. The sociologist, accordingly, should take account of the situation as it is and avoid the danger of minimizing the importance of race consciousness because of a preoccupation with conflicts over terminology. Political leaders, agitators, men in the street certainly have a definite idea of what they mean by race. A concept, however erroneous, is of major sociological significance when it has become so vital that men will die in its defense.

In popular usage, a race is a group of persons whose supposedly common genetic origin is distinguishable in any way—by anatomical differences, language, dress, or other means of identification. This, it seems, is the definition that should be adopted by the sociologist, who is more concerned with social behavior than with logical terminology.

According to this conception, the significance of "racial" differences is that they constitute a kind of flag or uniform by which one may easily recognize associates, rivals, or enemies. One's attitude toward a stranger, consequently, depends upon the category into which he falls and not upon the means of arriving at this classification. Speech, costume, and other cultural stigmata may, therefore, be even more significant than observable physio-

<sup>4</sup> Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans, A Survey of "Racial" Problems* (London, 1935), pp. 108 and 262-63.



logical characteristics. In fact, mere anatomical traits are often less precise than cultural ones and hence more liable to result in confusing friend with foe.

Race consciousness is, then, like a uniform or other insignia in that it tends to improve group morale and to increase rivalry and aggression toward outsiders. The preaching of ethnocentric doctrines may, for example, silence dissenters almost as effectively as would a declaration of war upon a neighboring state. Racism is, consequently, a symbol that normally strengthens social solidarity and reinforces prejudices existing against competing or antagonistic groups.

The concept described above has been suggested by several authorities in this field. Faris, for example, says, "A race with which people are in conflict is a group of people who are *considered* as a race and these thoughts or considerations are determinative in conduct and attitude."<sup>5</sup>

In his references to "social visibility" Donald Young also presents a concept very similar to that defended here. He also points out the importance of public opinion, even when it is unscientific and illogical. "With superb disdain for the findings of the scientists, popular belief lumps biological, language, cultural, political and other groups under the one heading of 'race' and behaves accordingly."<sup>6</sup>

In particular, W. O. Brown, following Reuter, Park, and Miller, has emphasized that "the transformation of race from a biological to a social fact is not a function of conditions inherent in human biology. Rather it can be understood only in terms of the social situations and culture of a given society."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York, 1937), p. 341.

<sup>6</sup> *American Minority Peoples* (New York, 1932), p. xiii.

<sup>7</sup> "Race and Culture Conflict," in E. B. Reuter (editor) *Race and Culture Contacts* (New York, 1934), Chap. III.



If linguistic purists object to such sociological conceptions of race, a consensus may still be reached by agreeing that a race is primarily a group of persons with observable innate physiological differences, and, secondarily, associated with any characteristics that may permit easy identification.

A group of persons thus set apart as a "race" is a sociological reality, even though the alleged means of identification can be disproved by objective measurement. For example, an intelligent Kikuyu from East Africa may say that one way in which he can distinguish the neighboring Masai is by the peculiar bluish color of their gums, but he will not alter his behavior toward them even if he is shown that the basis of his discrimination is untrustworthy. It is sufficient for him that he can recognize a Masai when he meets one, however obscure or unreliable may be his methods of establishing the newcomer's identity.

In racial situations, then, the essential fact for the sociologist is whether or not an individual feels a psychic kinship with the members of a particular group and refuses to acknowledge a similar relationship to other groups that he can distinguish in some way satisfactory to himself. Anthropometric measurements are, consequently, of less significance than the individual's own previous experience or his acceptance of a cultural heritage that causes him to treat some persons as friends and others as outlanders, foreigners, or barbarians. Needless to say, these attitudes of amity or enmity rarely result from personal encounters with strangers; they are more frequently the outgrowth of traditional group friendships and antipathies. In other words, racial attitudes and the resulting patterns of behavior are psychosocial in nature and, as a general rule, are culturally predetermined.



The acceptance of race as a sociological concept rather than as an anatomical one will not, of course, solve the problems that have bedeviled anthropologists and biologists for more than a century. Do genetic groups have statistically reliable differences in intelligence or in temperament? If innate differences do exist, how much can they be modified by cultural conditions? Are "pure" races mere idealizations or are they realities obscured by centuries of intermixture? Such questions still remain to tax wisdom, patience, and scientific objectivity.

Nevertheless, the sociologist may make a definite gain by separating clearly the psychosocial from the biological aspects of racial problems. A general realization that race is more functional than structural and often indicates a certain point of view, usually culturally conditioned, rather than any measurable entity may help reduce the present confusion in terminology and permit greater clarity of expression, if not of thinking.



## SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OLD AGE

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Recently an increasing interest has been shown in that period of life known as old age, in its problems and various aspects.<sup>1</sup> During the past forty years, in spite of the enormous progress in knowledge and science that the last two centuries have brought to us, we have found that, in comparison with the varieties and amount of research on the welfare and management of children and on adolescence, old age has been neglected. Reviewing the literature on old age written during this period, one can readily see a gradual but definite shift from the standpoints of religion, philosophy, health, hygiene, and physical changes to the emphases on the economic status, the attitudes, adjustments, social life, and retirement problems of the older persons.

Undoubtedly, old age presents many problems the solution of which involves various factors and varies with different cultural patterns. For example, among the Chinese, old age has been for thousands of years regarded with honor, pride, and envy; but in the Western world people resent old age.

It is beyond the scope of this article to enumerate all the problems facing old age. But we desire here to show its social significance from the following standpoints.

*Median age advances.* All that civilization can do has not lengthened the maximum life of the individual, but

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph K. Folsom and M. Margaret Morgan, "The Social Adjustments of 381 Recipients of Old Age Allowance," *The American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1937; Clarence M. Case, "An Old-Age Pension for Young People," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, September-October, 1937; and George Lawton, "The Study of Senescence: Psychiatric and Sociological Aspects," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2, September, 1938.



it has greatly increased the average age. As against an average span of life in the United States of 40 years in 1855, the present span of life is 58 years. What the statisticians call the median age of the Americans is "slowly but persistently growing older." The major factor in the increasing median age of the population has been the rapid progress in the medical and sanitary fields. The Census Bureau at Washington, D.C., reported in February, 1937, that the median age—that of persons at the midpoint of all reported ages—stood at 27.6 years in 1935 as compared with 26.4 in 1930, 25.2 in 1920, and 18.8 in 1850.<sup>2</sup> In the United States the decreasing birth rate, the reduction of immigration in recent years, and the lengthening of the average span of life tend to increase the population figures in the older age group. This gradually increasing number of older persons is one of the obvious population trends and attracts the attention of those who are serious minded. Whelpton estimates that by 1975 the number of persons 65 years and over will approach 13 per cent; and, with a probable population of 165,000,000, the aged will exceed 20,000,000.<sup>3</sup> According to Thompson, there will be by 1970 more than 15,000,000 old persons in the United States; by the year 2000, above 19,000,000.<sup>4</sup>

*Economic insecurity.* While life has thus been lengthened, it has not been matched by a proportionate increase in the working period, for the years of remunerative employment are being steadily curtailed. All tendencies in the modern industrial order seem to discourage the employment of older workers. In the competitive labor market the aged workers are at a disadvantage and are

<sup>2</sup> Report of the United States Census Bureau, Washington, D.C., February 18, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> P. K. Whelpton, "Increase and Distribution of Elders in Our Population," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 27:92-101, 1932.

<sup>4</sup> Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 2nd Edition, 1935), p. 266 ff.



reluctantly replaced long before their productive capacity has disappeared. One of many similar advertisements found in our daily press may illustrate this point:

At forty, jobs denied, although possess plenty result-producing physical and mental energy, exceptional experience, executive career, creative initiative, University graduate, law, journalism degrees; business or estate manager, administrative secretary-stenographer. Apartment 103, 1100 S. Berendo.<sup>5</sup>

In the modern industrial life as found in America and England, where efficiency, productivity, and speed are the key words, old persons are not wanted after a certain age limit. After mid-life, men and women are thrown on an economic scrap heap. Interesting accounts are related by factory hands who are afraid of arbitrary discharge at a fixed age limit in spite of their physical and mental ability. They have invariably lied about their years, and some of them have even darkened their hair with soot from the furnace to hide their years.<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly, it is an economic waste to lay off men who have lived a certain number of years, disregarding their physical and mental fitness, their valuable accumulated knowledge, and acquired skill. The General Electric Company recognizes the rights and abilities of those "Forty Plus" and has 40 per cent of its payroll employees over 40, to keep the same balance as in the general population. Henry Ford, following the example, stipulates that the age distribution of his employees shall parallel that of citizens in the town in which the Ford plant is located. Ford emphatically says: "If all men over fifty-five were removed from industry, there would not be brains enough left to carry on." On the other hand, it has been argued that older workers increase the cost of production and tend to break down the morale of the younger workers.

<sup>5</sup> Found in a "Situation Wanted" column in *Hollywood Citizen News*, September 1, 1938. Many words were found abbreviated.

<sup>6</sup> J. J. Davis, "Old Age at Fifty," *North American Review*, 225:513 ff., 1928.



*Poverty and dependency.* Dr. Francis E. Townsend, the originator and president of the Old Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd., proposing monthly pensions of \$200 to citizens of the United States over 60 years of age, came in contact with many elderly persons in Long Beach, California, in 1929. The plight of his patients and the sight of three old women sifting the contents of a garbage can prompted him to "do something about it." Many residents of Long Beach have come from the East and Midwest and invested their surplus capital in building and loan associations. The last depression wiped out a large number of building and loan corporations. Millions of dollars in assets were frozen stiff. In other words, while undoubtedly many who are poor and dependent in old age become so through their own fault, as the result of ill-spent years and savings, the greater number by far are the innocent victims of circumstances beyond their control. Regardless of what people may think of Townsend's plan, conditions as observed by him have given rise to reform efforts such as the Townsend Movement.

The seriousness of the old-age problem in industrial countries like America and England is that, in a social order where individual rights are greatly stressed and mutual dependency is comparatively low, the systematic neglect of older persons is characteristic. Cartoonist Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* under the caption "Missouri's Modern Success Story" makes the Missouri business man speak to his co-workers in the office: "Just landed mother and the old man on the old-age relief."<sup>7</sup> The status of old age is in direct proportion to the degree of mutual dependency. In China and America, for example, we find such extremes. It is not difficult to draw a mental picture of the total situation in the United States when one studies the dependent aged in public and pri-

<sup>7</sup> *Survey Midmonthly*, LXXIV, No. 1, January, 1938.



vate institutions in one's own town or city. The problems of poverty and dependency become more acute as we descend from the higher social strata to the wage-earning masses and manual laborers. The question involved is the livelihood of such wage earners and their immediate families after compulsory or voluntary retirement. Retirement is often beset with anxiety and danger of rapid disintegration. An investigation of the retiring age limit for certain occupations, industries, and professions and its effects will be significant. The participation or activity of old persons in their community life after retirement is another important aspect of research.

*Security for old age.* Rubinow, Epstein, Coyle, and others have pointed to the precarious situation in the United States, a nation that has had no retirement system or provision for old age, except for soldiers and for judges of the Supreme Court. Public interest was aroused in the early part of 1937, when President Roosevelt wished to add younger men to the Supreme Court if the older members did not resign. The Social Security Act, approved on August 14, 1935, sets up two systems for aiding the aged. One is designed to help the states to give immediate assistance to aged persons on the basis of need; the other to provide annuities in the future to persons over 65, based upon their wage experience. The Social Security Act has yet room for improvement. Among the changes being considered is one to start the benefits of old age insurance in 1940 instead of in 1942 as planned. There seems to be a moral obligation upon the state to support the aged who are unable to support themselves. The problem of security for old age is no longer a "political football" but becomes a question of ways and means. In the fall of 1938, pension promises for the aged played important roles in determining the outcome of primary elections and sharpened the issues for the fall campaign from



Maine to California and from Washington to Florida. Some people have expressed the opinion that politicians are using old-age pensions as bait for gudgeons. For example, the election of Sheridan Downey over Senator McAdoo in California has emphasized in part the political potentialities of the voters who want more and bigger pensions. The victory of Downey at least made the nation conscious of this latest and most spectacular reach for utopia. Wild pension schemes have been bobbing up everywhere and "senior citizens" have been looking forward to the new life—"free from hunger, scarcity and poverty." "Senior citizens" somehow do not trust the politicians and feel "sick and tired of scrambling for crumbs left over." They are now marching in legion for the right to secure "Ham and Eggs." More than 789,000 people in California have signed a petition calling for a vote on the plan of paying "\$30 every Thursday" to every unemployed person over 50 years of age! The lives of old persons should be interpreted by the basic urges or wishes. We should not ignore the desire for security in old age. This explains why the official *Townsend Weekly* reached a circulation of 75,000 two months after the first issue. According to the *New York Times* of April 5, 1936, there were then more than 3,500,000 paid members who had contributed approximately \$1,000,000 to the cause. As a political factor, it has been pointed out that if there are 7,000 Townsend Clubs with a membership of 3,500,000 organized by congressional districts, as Dr. Townsend claims, the organizations would give him the balance of power between the parties. That is, if one candidate of either party endorses the Plan and his opponent does not, the Townsend sentiment may decide the election.<sup>8</sup>

*Social adjustments.* Old persons are more or less placed in a category or a mental stereotype. Whether certain alleged personality traits of old people are due to the

<sup>8</sup> *The Townsend Crusade* (New York: The Committee on Old Age Security of the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1936), p. 11.



immediate social environment or to advancing years is a point for research. But physical feebleness and mental morbidity limit the social participation of old persons. This solitude or withdrawal builds up higher the barrier between the age levels, for "oldsters" accuse the youths of "going to the dogs," and youths blame old persons for overcriticism. Old age, indeed, is more than a biological and a physiological process. It is a sociopsychological process, involving new attitudes and adjustments. There is every need on the part of the old people consciously to adjust their attitudes toward old age itself as well as toward persons belonging to other age groups. Old age, in fact, is the last of a series of adaptive changes in the trajectory of living; it is a phase of life in which changes in attitudes are not easily made and adaptation possibilities are few. What, then, is the best social environment for old persons? Strange as it may seem, many old persons do well in institutions when they cannot get along at home. Fundamental changes in social life are taking place that tend to aggravate the old-age problem. Urbanization in the United States aggravates the old-age problem in the sense that it makes it impossible for average working men to care for and to support their aged parents. Especially in the larger cities, where apartment-house living is increasing and rentals are high, modern conveniences are, at the same time, eliminating the odd and incidental services that some older relatives happily perform elsewhere. Yet, strictly speaking, family life and relationships are somewhat affected by the presence of the aged, whether for good or for ill. There is an incessant struggle between old age and impetuous youth. We know from experience that when old persons live together with their children much heartbreak and unhappiness result. There may not be constant clash, but each hides his true feelings from the other.



Old age is inevitable, but many writers share the view that it can be deferred and salvaged and that one can grow old hygienically and gracefully. It is with the firm conviction that the senescent period of life is just as important as any other period of life that various social movements have lately been launched to salvage old age. There are several special developments that are of sociological interest.<sup>9</sup> Space permits us but a brief review of some of the more significant movements. The Townsend Plan, as mentioned above, not only is sociologically and economically significant but has undeniably become an important political factor. Dr. Lillien J. Martin's distinguished psychotherapeutic work with the aged at the Old Age Center in San Francisco, California, receives hearty support from Vassar College from the 1880 Fund for Old Age Welfare. The Old Age Center is the nucleus of a movement that aims at "sweeping the cobwebs"; its basic principle is the mental rehabilitation of the old. The School of Maturates is a school "engaged in a campaign for side-stepping old age." Dr. William A. McKeever of Oklahoma City, the originator of the School of Maturates, attempts to enlarge the campaign against old age by extending the "Live a Century Club of America" throughout the United States. More recently there has been organized, under the leadership of Roland Darling, the "Forty Plus Club of New England." Mr. Darling believes that, in spite of a certain age dead line, "all for one and one for all" can be used by a group of unemployed old persons.<sup>10</sup>

In summary of the social significance of old age, it may be said that the increasing percentage of old people in the population, particularly at a time when society makes

<sup>9</sup> The Borrowed Time Club of Oak Park, Illinois; The Old Men's Singing Club of Alameda, California; The Denver Public Opportunity School; an institution founded by Dr. Charles E. Sharp, 78 years old, in Elgin, Illinois, et cetera.

<sup>10</sup> Ray Giles, "Hired After Forty," *Reader's Digest*, 33:1-5, December, 1938.



little provision for them, means that both the personal problems and social problems of old people, such as economic insecurity, unemployment, poverty, dependency, are definitely on the increase. Old age is a sociopsychological process of making new accommodations at a time of life when accommodations of any sort are most difficult to make. However, old age, though an inevitable process, can be deferred and salvaged. One of the first popular beliefs to be corrected is the common assumption that, after reaching a certain arbitrary age limit, human beings cease to be individuals and take on a kind of blanket character of old age.



## CO-OPERATIVES IN NOVA SCOTIA

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Perhaps the place to begin a discussion of the co-operative movement in Nova Scotia is with some observations concerning the country and its inhabitants. Ethnically, Nova Scotia is dominantly Scottish, although there are many French, especially among the fisherfolk. Every year at Antigonish (pronounced an-ti-go-neesh'), the center of the co-operative movement, they hold Highland Games which, we are told, are more Scottish than anything in Scotland. One of the most interesting half days of our trip was spent watching the sword dance and the highland fling, tossing the caper, and listening—with mixed sensations—to competitions on the bagpipe by Pipe Majors and Pipe Captains and just plain pipers! At the same time a conventional American field meet was in progress on the track.

One of our surprising discoveries was that the people of the Maritime Provinces (New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia) feel themselves to be naturally a part of the United States. Economically, there is much basis for this feeling; and it is sometimes said that there are more Nova Scotians in New England than there are in Nova Scotia. In better times it was quite the usual proceeding for Canadian fishermen to migrate to the States to seek work each year after the fishing season was over. United States currency circulates freely in all parts of these provinces.

If one were to make a penetrating analysis of the co-operative movement in the Maritime Provinces, the two facts that the population is largely Scottish in its cul-



tural inheritance but American in its present orientation would appear to be of great significance. These facts also have a bearing on the question as to whether the co-operative movement in the United States may learn from the movement in Canada.

Another significant fact very soon became apparent. Nova Scotia is predominantly Catholic; that is to say, there is a core of religious solidarity. In the whole province of Nova Scotia slightly less than one half of the population are adherents to Catholicism, but among the fishermen the proportion is higher. There is no doubt that the recent co-operative movement has been fostered primarily by the Catholic priests, but it would be gross error to assume that the movement is based on any kind of compulsion. In fact, it so happens that in the one locality where co-operatives have made most progress the population is predominantly non-Catholic. The movement is the outcome of certain economic factors coupled with certain psychological conditions. True, the leadership has been Catholic in the main; and the church afforded a ready-made group, among whom the priests were the natural leaders. Once the movement was included in the program of the church; therefore, the way opened readily for the propaganda to spread. However, one of the most interesting outcomes is that Catholics and Protestants are now working together as never before in the interest of the common good. This is in sharp contrast to an earlier period when there was much tension between them. The old feelings are not all gone; but this practical program, which promises good to the whole community, has united people in common activities that make partitions and jealousies seem trivial.

Not only is there a high degree of religious homogeneity, but there is also great occupational homogeneity. About one third of the population are fishermen who live



in small villages along eight thousand miles of coast. It is largely within this group that the co-operatives have recently made such remarkable progress. The situation was an ideal one for the development of the study groups that, in Nova Scotia, are the foundation of the movement. It cannot be insisted too strongly that the fisher families had to be "shown" before they could be induced to risk any of their scanty earnings in a venture that, initially, reduced the amount of cash which could be spent for daily bread. When the movement was beginning, the fish market was badly demoralized, and in many, if not most, of the fishing villages more than half the population were on relief. Fishing is a seasonal industry which affords income for two or three months in the year, at most. With much unemployment in all other lines in both Canada and the United States, there was nothing for the men to do after the end of the fishing season. Under such circumstances the formation of study clubs in the villages, once the idea was accepted by the priests, became easy.

The necessity for study as the foundation for sound co-operation was stressed by all who were connected with the movement; and in conversation with the members, as we traveled from place to place, it became quite apparent that they had become thoroughly indoctrinated. Study was undertaken as the answer to an urgent need. The whole thing really began when Father J. J. Tompkins came to his poverty-stricken parishioners at Dover and asked them if they were satisfied with things as they were; and when they said they were not, he asked them if they wanted to find out why and see if they could do something about it. He himself did not know quite what could be done, but the upshot of the matter was that they started studying economics—not conventional, classical treatises on economic concepts (though they came to these), but such books as *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*, *The*



*Acquisitive Society, America's Capacity to Produce, Single Tax, Poverty*, and the writings of the Webbs, of Norman Thomas, Spargo, Jane Addams, and H. G. Wells. The books they selected were critical of contemporary society and the economic scene of the present. One interesting phase of the matter was that Father Tompkins and the other priests who sympathized with him (and they were not numerous, in the beginning) were being educated at the same time that their people were learning. They had no idea whither they were bound, but had a determination to escape from the intolerable condition in which they found themselves.

In this connection I was much struck by the fact that the leaders of this movement have an ardent and militant faith in the intelligence and capacity of the common man. The movement is genuinely and deeply democratic. It has sprung from and taken root in the people themselves. Nothing has been imposed from above. Suggestions and information have come from the leaders, but action has awaited demand from the people. In fact, the majority of the priests were skeptical in the beginning. Their training had been academic and ecclesiastical. They thought of themselves as spiritual leaders. Now the convincing logic of demonstrated facts has won the support of the majority. In a word, one may say that the co-operative movement among the fishermen of Nova Scotia is based on evangelistic economics. It is a new interpretation of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is actuated by a faith that is really messianic in character, the content of which is the assertion of the importance of the humblest fisherman in the eyes of God, and a belief in his right to a decent economic life and the possibility of realizing that right by the practice of genuine brotherhood—that is, co-operation! No interpretation of Nova Scotia that fails to recognize the almost fanatical zeal of its



leaders, as well as the almost fanatical orthodoxy of its members, is a correct interpretation.

Another factor in explaining the rise of the new co-operatives is the fact that in Sydney and many of the nearby towns the British Canadian Co-operative Society was an old, established, and successful institution. It began almost forty years ago and was organized on the original Rochdale principles as applied by the Co-operative Societies in Great Britain. In the course of these years it has become the most important retail merchandising agency in the area. Its stores offer better stocks of goods at lower prices than those of other stores in the region. Besides this, the treatment afforded their employees is, as far as we could learn, distinctly better than that of their competitors. Patronage dividends are being declared every year in substantial amounts. Loan capital has been offered in amounts exceeding manyfold the needs of the business. These co-operatives, however, are primarily urban, although their membership consists mainly of steel workers and miners, with a sprinkling of the white-collar classes. However, they seem to have ceased active educational effort, and member participation in the management has sunk to a low level. They are successful—and conventional! Nevertheless, the leaders of the more recent movement (and tension between it and the British Canadian is not entirely absent) admit freely that they took their cue from the older organization.

Another factor of considerable importance was the favorable attitude of the government, which has given a good deal of concrete aid in marketing and technical problems in the course of the evolution of these societies. Boats have been supplied in which to market the fish and lobsters, and the services of the government marketing expert in Halifax have been utilized. Even the Dominion government became interested when it appeared that the



movement would actually be serviceable in these stricken communities which threatened to become a real and permanent economic burden to the state.

Perhaps most of us who were members of the tour and who met and listened to the men piloting and promoting the new co-operatives would agree that more important than any other single factor are these Nova Scotia pioneers, who are just as significant in this story as the Rochdale pioneers in the world-wide movement. Written words cannot quite catch the mystical ardor of the slight, white-haired Father Tompkins, who is credited with starting it all—in the face of skepticism, to say it softly, of the administrative officers of St. Francis Xavier University with which he was at that time connected. The spirit of co-operation had got into his blood. He went from his fisherfolk in Dover to the miners at Sydney Mines, and now he has them building their own houses co-operatively on land owned by the group and inalienable from the group, on a plan which provides for community education and recreation and religion. That story is too long to tell here; but as one listened to these miners, wearing carpenters' aprons, who turned aside from their building to tell how they had studied plans and architecture and, above all, regained confidence and self-respect, one had the feeling that he was in the presence of something primitive and creative. No casual visitor can be sure that he senses the emotional and personality values in a situation which is novel to him; but I confess that this visit to one of the finished houses (being built at a net cost of about \$1,500, most of which is loaned by the government) and to the workmen on their jobs moved me quite as deeply as and in a way quite like that which I experience when I travel on an ocean liner in a storm and sense the triumph of man in his battle against the elements.



Quite a different person is Father M. M. Coady. Just as much a zealot as Father Tompkins, he is a big, rugged man who talks in punching phrases and picturesque similes. He is the kind of man who inspires confidence by his presence. He is a philosopher, but also a practical politician. He oversimplifies the social scene when he talks about it, as every man must if he really does anything about it! He is a dynamo of energy, but he is not well. He has the appearance, still, of one who knows and can do! Perhaps it was not wholly because we were ready to be convinced about co-operatives that we were drawn toward these two men by something which can hardly be expressed in a slighter word than love. They are masters of men, masters of ideas, possessed by an incandescent and infectious faith.

Then there is A. B. Macdonald, almost as big as Father Coady, a layman who as a Communist organizer came to a co-operative meeting to scoff and remained to pray—and to become another dynamo in the leadership of this new (and old) fraternity. Less facile, less pungent than Father Coady, and lacking the almost feminine passion of Father Tompkins, Macdonald means business and looks business. He is a hard-headed and big-hearted Scot. And back of him and the others and working with them is the staff of St. Francis Xavier University, with its field workers, men and women, and the priests in the villages. They bring as many of them as possible into Antigonish each year for a rural and industrial conference where questions are asked and discussed, where leaders from Canada and the United States come to learn and to teach, where religion and devotion to the Kingdom of Heaven on earth are found in intimate company.

I have assumed that readers of this article are familiar with the main facts of the Nova Scotia movement as out-



lined by Bertram Fowler in *The Lord Helps Those* and by articles in the *Survey Graphic* and numerous other publications. A summary of what happened at Louisedale will suggest the elements in the picture. Louisedale is a fishing village with eighty families, sixty of whom were on relief at the time this story begins, about five years ago. The priest organized study groups among the men and boys and began with the subject of credit unions. After a number of weeks some of the young fellows asked, "Why can't we have a credit union?" "You have a credit union! You haven't enough money to live on. How can you form a credit union?" asked the priest. They replied that somehow they found money for cigarets and that they could give these up and put the money into the credit union. They did this and formed a small fund of just a few dollars. Out of this grew a buyers' club that bought flour and sugar by the sack. This grew into a store in the front bedroom of a house belonging to one of the members. Timber was plentiful in the region, and the men decided to build their own store. A member lent a small sawmill, and the men cut and sawed the timber and built the store themselves. Some money was borrowed from the credit union and other sources, a total of less than \$2,000. The store has most of the business of the village (it is the only store there), is out of debt, and pays regular patronage dividends. But this is only part of the story. Equipment was secured for canning fish, deboning cod, preserving the blueberries that grew wild in the region; and facilities were arranged for shipping live lobsters to the Boston market. On lobsters, the returns, when they were handled in this way, were about three times the amount received when they were sold through dealers. It was in the sale of lobsters that co-operatives among the fisherfolk were most successful. So Father Coady says when people ask him for advice about



establishing co-operatives, "Find your lobster! Get something that will pay; push it; and add other things later."

In Dover another co-operative enterprise started. Many of the villagers owned timber that could be used for pulpwood. In so far as this had been utilized, it was sold on an individual basis. One of their number visited the government marketing agent in Halifax and found that if they could guarantee a whole cargo of wood, cut and peeled, it could be marketed to better advantage. Outcome: the priest got the men to work together, paying them nothing and guaranteeing nothing; but because they had learned to co-operate, they cut the cargo of wood. The government inspector reported that it was the best wood shipped from the province that year, and it netted the villagers three times as much as it would have brought if sold individually. The result of it all was that after three years every family was off relief, and the self-respect of the community was the highest in many years.

This particular story is among the most spectacular that came to us in our tour of co-operative enterprise in the Maritime Provinces; but certain elements in it are common to all the successful co-operatives in the region. In the first place, co-operative processing of fish, blueberries, and pulpwood increased very greatly the months of profitable labor of the villagers. In the second place, the income for each day of work was substantially enhanced because of increased efficiency and because of government co-operation in marketing. In the third place, extraordinarily high profits from co-operative houses were possible because of the absence of competition, extension of credit, and inertia of the private merchants scattered along the coast and operating very small stores. In the fourth place, as it has been stated, the people are extremely poor and unusually homogeneous in their social structure. In the fifth place, aside from social, oc-



cupational, and economic homogeneity, religious homogeneity, which involves the natural leadership of the priest, is found quite generally throughout this region.

In addition to the forms of co-operation I have mentioned, a number of enterprises of various kinds have been launched. The manufacture of hooked rugs, wool weaving, and various kinds of needlework have been initiated. Co-operative education of various kinds is developing. Children's and farmers' co-operatives have been promoted. In the school at Grand Etang the little children, not to be outdone by their elders, also have started a credit union. The officers, under the direction of the teachers, are the little tots who go to school. It is not often that they have spare cash; nevertheless, they faithfully deposit their payments in the credit union for safe-keeping. It instills in them the habit of thrift and gives them some conception of the value and uses of money.

Perhaps the thing that is humanly most significant is the new spirit of independence and self-confidence that has come as a result of participation in the building of one's own community. Of course, we did not know these people before the co-operatives; but we were assured that a striking change had occurred. At any rate, the characteristics I have mentioned were very impressive to us.

Of what permanent significance is the movement? No certain answer can be given to that question. There are inescapable relationships between population and resources. Such movements have a way of becoming senescent and rigid. Nevertheless the experience of the British Canadian co-operatives, as well as that of Great Britain and European countries, suggests we have an economic device here of extraordinary efficiency as well as a channel of democracy that may be of great significance in our time.



What lessons can we learn for the United States? I do not feel certain. We shall not find parallel conditions in the two countries anywhere. Competition is usually keener in the United States. Our poverty-stricken classes are more inert and less homogeneous. Competing objects of attention, among the middle classes at any rate, are more engrossing. In Nova Scotia they are frankly suspicious of the intelligentsia in the movement—despite the fact that it has educated leadership. Father Coady admonishes us never to elect a teacher or a professional man to office in a co-operative. Yet many of the newer consumers' co-operatives in the United States are maintained by the interest of professional classes and have failed in winning the support of the classes that in other countries have been the mainstay of the movement. But perhaps a new type of development may occur here which will depart in some particulars from the faith of the Rochdale fathers. Co-operative insurance companies, for example, like stock companies, involve no face-to-face contacts among members. Perhaps we must, if we succeed, develop less personal co-operatives—in which individual understanding and loyalty will play a smaller part. But, on the other hand, perhaps democracy itself can be preserved only if it is based on genuine community participation in vital group processes. Perhaps co-operatives offer a deeply significant contribution in this area. I left Nova Scotia profoundly stirred, wondering what it could mean in the town where I live.



## RELIEF WORK IN A DUST BOWL COUNTY

### *A Socioeconomic Survey*

RALPH PERKINS

*Montezuma, Kansas*

To many people charity is not new. The masses have traditionally left the corners of the fields, knowing that they would be gleaned by the poor. However, when we consider the so-called American success psychology, that every child, however humbly born, is a potential President of the United States, we must of necessity consider matters other than merely feeding and clothing the unfortunate. Are people satisfied with a mere subsistence? The answer to that is in the negative. All of us like to picture ourselves as having something a little better than our neighbor, and having this something better is impossible for those on relief. Relief represents a disappointment for every American person, and this frustration must be considered in any program which is intended to rehabilitate our unfortunate citizens. Not only must relief restore the person physically, but, of even more importance, it must restore the person mentally.

Far too many of the typical American citizens think of relief as being something that is of no concern of theirs. Few, very few, realize that relief is for the purpose of rehabilitating their own neighbors. Few place the blame on the socioeconomic order which creates a situation where relief is necessary to sustain several million people in the most prosperous country in the world.

The author has made an intensive study of the socioeconomic situation in Gray County, Kansas. Although Gray County is on the eastern edge of the so-called dust bowl, there has been little need for relief in the past.



Money was scarce in the early times, even among those spoken of as wealthy, and to the poor homesteaders it was an almost unheard-of thing. The county was agricultural and is still largely agricultural.

Today the problem of caring for the needy in this county has grown to the extent that poor relief is the largest item in the county budget. Poor relief has raised the taxes on real estate to the point where taxation is almost confiscatory. The depression, allied with five crop failures, has won both a physical and a mental battle from many of our citizens. True, many of these citizens were in the extremely low income class, and many are renters and tenants. This makes the problem more vital; it does not solve it. Some form of insurance will be necessary to carry these people while they are jobless or cropless. When they have jobs or crops, they are able to live but they cannot save for that dusty day.

In general, subsistence farming is not practiced in the Southwest. The farmers here depend upon one crop. When they have a crop, they are rich, and the come-easy money goes easy. Again generalizing, we might say that the vast majority of the people in need in this territory have found the cause to be a "rainfall depression" rather than an economic depression. Can a depression inflict an adverse influence on a cropless people who have nothing to sell and everything to buy? It is the author's opinion that these people have benefited greatly by the economic depression.

In this territory the social case worker tries to impress upon the client that the social welfare office is for the purpose of helping the client, but that the client will be bettered physically, mentally, and financially if he can obtain private employment. Initiative is encouraged and rewarded, but the case workers find many clients who are beyond the point where any encouragement can be given.



A debt-ridden, doctor-billed, machinery-collectored individual cannot be given encouragement. Far too many of these clients know that they will work hard for a few more years and then lose all they have worked a lifetime to gather. They are too old to start over with a clean slate. How can such an individual be encouraged by a case worker, or how can such an individual be expected to develop initiative?

The successful case worker must know people. It is necessary for him to be a good judge of human nature. Some people try to get more help than they deserve, while others are truly honest. Some go to any extreme; they hide information and resources; they perjure themselves; anything for more aid. Others do not want their friends and relatives to know they are seeking aid. Some are honest, some are proud, some grasping, and some are at the stage where they care not what happens. They are a true cross section of humanity.

A study of the case histories of people receiving relief in this dust bowl county shows that these people are permanent residents of the county. They have lived here a major portion of their lives. We used to feel that they were drifters. Some of the clients have always been on the county aid list, but we find that 90 per cent have never asked for aid previous to 1931 and that the vast majority will support themselves again. However, we will never get to the utopian point where relief will be unnecessary.

Liabilities are an uncertain item in any survey. When a client had credit and made debts several years ago, and for several years has had no credit and could make no recent debts, and also found that he had no money to use for diminishing these previously made debts, he soon forgets the exact amounts owed. Many clients do not know how much they owe, and many merchants have marked



these debts off their books, since there is so little likelihood of ever collecting. It is safe to say that every relief client is in debt. The amount each is in debt depends upon his personal dependability and resources before the drought and depression. Each, however, is in debt for as much as he could possibly borrow. We find clients who owe money to as many as eight different government agencies in addition to debts owed private persons, companies, or corporations.

Whether people who can make a living for themselves attend high school and college or whether the colleges and high schools make the people able to support themselves is a question that has never been answered. The lack of education is a glaring fact when one surveys the case histories of these clients. School facilities were not so good when these clients were younger, but many of the clients are of this generation; yet all show the same lack of education.

Perhaps this depression will teach the general public the value of a better and higher compulsory education law. The women of the 182 cases studied in this survey had completed a total of 1,492.4 years of schooling. This places the average at 8.2 years. Several women have attended college, but no graduate was found, and no cases were found where the woman had completed more than one and one-half years of college work. Only forty-three cases were recorded where the woman had less than an eighth grade education, and only thirty-two had more than an eighth grade education.

The men who are on relief in these 182 cases attended school a total of 1,152 years, or an average of 6.3 years each. There are two illiterates among the men and only two who have ever attended college. Nineteen completed the third grade, forty-two completed the fourth grade, and only sixteen completed high school.



The women have an average of 1.73 years of education beyond that of the men. However, their story is a pathetic one. They are the first to suffer when finances run low. They are denied the clothes and medical care which are so important in the personality and health of a woman. They labor in their efforts to produce and care for children. Forty-one per cent have children under one year of age, or are pregnant. Leisure time for the social life which is so necessary for those in the lower income brackets is almost entirely lacking.

The health of the women and children is also a disturbing factor. It is a factor which must be considered when one studies the causes for these people being on relief. Nearly every family in the 182 cases studied owed doctor bills. How much was spent on account of ill health before and how much has been paid are unknown and will never be known. Bills run from nothing to \$1,000. The average doctor bill owed by the families on relief is \$160. Does this not suggest a place for some sort of socialized medicine? Perhaps the health of these people on relief is better now than it has been. They are assured of a somewhat balanced diet, and in some cases where the need is shown operations are performed by the county and glasses fitted for children.

People on relief are just like all the rest of the people in the world—some are satisfied and appreciate what is done for them, and some are not satisfied and do not appreciate the help given them. Rural people are better satisfied with the help that is given than are those who live in town. It is believed that the people in town have more undirected leisure time, and thus have time to brood over their misfortune. The women in all cases are more nearly satisfied and are more appreciative of what is done for them than are the men.



Nearly all clients at some time express their deep appreciation for what is being done for them, and likewise at some time nearly all clients express their dissatisfaction. When all is considered, it is doubtful whether the average relief client really genuinely appreciates what has been done for him.

Few children or relatives are in a position to help their less fortunate brethren. Some do not feel that it is their duty to help their relatives, even close relatives, while some parents do not feel like imposing on their children. The majority would probably help relatives if it were financially possible to keep their own family and their close relatives also. Neither do we find any churches, lodges, or other organizations helping to support these clients.

Did these people ever have any insurance or bank accounts? At some time in their lives they surely found it necessary to have a bank account, but that time has long since passed. No records of bank accounts were given, although the client must sign a statement to the effect that the case worker may inquire about accounts at the banks. In only three cases was any insurance carried. Whether these people have had insurance at some time and, because of the difficulty in providing food for their families, dropped this insurance or whether they have never seen fit to carry insurance is unknown. Relief clients do not have life insurance. Thus, the question of what will happen to the dependents when the wage earner is gone is raised.

As a summary of this survey of the 182 cases on relief in a dust bowl county the author would list the following points:

1. A large majority of these people have no occupation except farming. Over 75 per cent have farmed. Ninety-one are renters or tenants, sixty-one are laborers, and thirty are farm owner-operators.



2. Ninety per cent of the clients will work and have been self-supporting in the past. They have been among the lower paid workers, but they did work.
3. The average debt of these families, including all liabilities they remember, is \$651.85.
4. The average doctor bill for these families is \$160.
5. Seventy-two per cent have cars, the average age of which is seven and one-half years.
6. Furniture varies. The average client has furniture valued at \$37.50. Thirty have radios valued from \$2.50 to \$60.
7. Few take a daily newspaper, and fewer still read any good magazine. Many believe that the Kansas sales tax tokens are for the purpose of paying \$200 per month under the Townsend Plan.
8. These families are permanent residents of the county. The largest percentage have lived here twenty years, and the average length of residence was found to be 16.1 years. They are not drifters.
9. The large majority have moved only once. They moved for these reasons: (a) crop failure; (b) desire to find work; (c) unpaid rent.
10. There is no general church membership. The women outrank the men. Only 14 per cent of the men and 19 per cent of the women are members, and a still smaller percentage (4 per cent) attend church regularly.
11. The average client has had 7.25 years of education. The women average 8.2 years and the men 6.3 years of schooling.
12. These people are at the age when they should be self-sustaining and in the best earning years of their lives. There are old people and young people, but the average age of the men is 40.9 years and of the women 38 years.



## FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS AND PUBLIC RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES

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In this study the term "public relief grants" is used as an exclusive term to include all public relief extended to the citizens of the United States. These financial resources originate with the federal, state, or county government. Such projects or aids derived from the W.P.A., P.W.A., C.W.A., N.Y.A., S.E.R.A., S.R.A., the diversified work relief projects, direct relief, and all public charity grants may be included in the general category of "public relief" in this study. Furthermore, "unemployment insurance," "social security act," "old age pension," and various other public aids, with the exception of those medical aids and certain categorical assistance derived from the public hospitals or public clinics, are social avenues which seem to be closed to Filipinos because of their anomalous sociopolitical status in this country.<sup>1</sup>

In order to have a clear view of the situation, perhaps it would be to our advantage to acquaint ourselves first with the present structure of the population of the race in point in this study. From various reliable sources it appears that the average estimates of the number of Filipinos in this country amount to about 55,000 to 60,000. A large percentage of this number are males with the average age of 25-30 years. About one fourth of this number is composed of native women and women of varied raciocultural elements who are married to Filipinos. The Filipino immigrants legally entered this continent as "wards" or as nationals of this country.

<sup>1</sup> The accumulation of cases (Filipinos) known to the present observer who were denied or diplomatically "discharged" from the privileges of working under the F.E.R.A. or in its related projects compelled him to delve into the problem. Such a large accumulation of data makes this study highly significant.



Occupationally, they are largely engaged in domestic services, in seasonal farm labor, and in fish canneries. About 3,000 to 4,000 of them have been employed on American vessels. Only a very small percentage of them are engaged in private business enterprises. Socially, they live "a mobile sort of life" as a consequence of their unstable employment, lack of family responsibility, and lack of community life. Because of their wide and thin distribution in this country, they appear helpless and a least menacing group of people.

Prior to the passage of the Filipino Exclusion Law as included in the McDuffy-Tydings Law in 1934 and, incidentally, the Philippine Independence Act (1935), the Filipinos were occupying a privileged position as nationals in the United States. With such status, they were in an international sense citizens of this country and were therefore entitled to the same protection as that awarded to the natives and naturalized citizens of this country. But in view of the present findings the tendency is different: that of discrimination of Filipinos from public works, general relief projects, and from various relief grants. Such a tendency of thought and practice is deep rooted, with its origins in the much-feared lowering of the standards of wages and of living in this country as a result of the mass Filipino labor migration into this country. The first groups to be aroused by Filipino labor influx en masse were the American Federation of Labor (1924), the groups of irate industrialists, farmers from certain sections of the country, and chauvinistic Americans. The impact of the agitation of these groups against the race in point gave birth to the now known Filipino Exclusion Law, and coincidentally there occurred the granting of semi-Philippine independence in 1935. These events marked a decided change in the sociopolitical status of the Filipinos in this country in that their privi-



leged position as nationals has been or is being threatened and has shifted into an alien category. Apparently, the origin of the declaration of the Filipinos as aliens is a matter of convenience in effecting the exclusion law against the Filipinos. Only alien peoples can be barred from coming into this country. The Filipinos, as long as they were nationals of this country, could not be legally excluded. Therefore, to exclude effectively the Filipinos, the Philippine Islands must be declared an independent nation. Then and only then could the peoples of such a country be declared aliens and subjected to exclusion.

This radical shift of national to alien status seems to have, of late, created more social discomfort among the Filipino-American residents than among the prospective Filipino immigrants against whom the new immigration law is purposely directed. According to the strict interpretation of the law, citizens of the Philippines are, for purposes of immigration, considered aliens. Unfortunately, aliens by virtue of the present ruling of the General Emergency Relief Administration are not entitled to such grants as the public welfare agencies extended to the native and naturalized citizens of this country. The consequences and effects of this ruling are so delicate and its contagion so widespread that all the Filipino residents in this country are constantly faced with much social discomfort.

On July 6, 1937, the Philippine Resident Commissioner addressed the Works Progress Administrator, Harry L. Hopkins, requesting an opinion as to whether Filipinos are entitled to preference under the Relief Appropriation Act of 1937. In reply, the administrator cites the language of the act involved as follows:

Preference shall be given to American citizens who are in need of relief in employment by the Works Progress Administration and next those aliens who are in need of relief and who have declared their in-



tention to become citizens prior to the enactment of this joint resolution. Provided further, that veterans of the World War and Spanish War who are in need of relief shall be given preference for employment by the W.P.A.<sup>2</sup>

A portion of the above citation from the Relief Appropriation Act of 1937 declares:

Preference shall be given to American citizens who are in need of relief in employment by the W.P.A. and next to those aliens who are in need of relief and who have declared their intention to become citizens prior to the enactment of the act.

We have learned from the above-cited provision of the Act that the Act may extend relief grants to aliens who are in need of relief, if they have declared their intentions to become citizens of the United States prior to the passage of the Act. At this point the Filipino-American residents found themselves in a "complete anomalous position." They entered this country legally as nationals.<sup>3</sup> Having been admitted into this country as nationals, the Filipino-American residents did not apply for naturalization or for citizenship in the United States. Proudly they have regarded themselves as "national-citizens" of this country. Because of the position that the Filipinos hold in this country they undoubtedly delayed, if not overlooked entirely, the "filing" of the citizenship papers required of aliens for eligibility to work for the W.P.A. and its contingent agencies, until the Emergency Relief Act was passed.

Besides, Section 8 of the Philippine Independence Act states, regarding Filipino exclusion:

<sup>2</sup> From the "Statement of Hon. Quintin Paredes," *Dimas-Alang Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct. 1, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> In 1898, when Spain ceded to the United States the islands of Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands, Congress reserved the right to determine the civil rights and political status of the natives of these ceded Islands. By treaty they have given the natives the right to acquire the status of American nationals, without American citizenship. See also *Treaties, Convention, International Agreements*, Vol. VI, p. 1693, and 23 Op. Atty. General, 1901, 402.



Following the acceptance of the Philippine Independence Act by the Philippine Legislature the Filipinos shall be considered aliens for the purpose of the application of the immigration exclusion and expulsion laws of the United States. And that upon the acceptance of the Philippine Independence Act, the quota shall be fifty persons annually.

At this point again the Filipino-American residents could not understand why they should be classed in the category of aliens. According to the true interpretation of the above law, it was enacted and accepted for the sole purpose of limiting the Filipino labor supply from the Philippines, and in no sense does the law contain any provision that would affect the Filipinos' *a priori* status as nationals of this country. In view of this fact, therefore, they sincerely feel that they deserve equal protection and security as long as they remain in this country.

In contrast to the provision of the above immigration law we may cite here an interesting phase of the Philippine Commonwealth Constitution. It says:

The Filipinos should owe allegiance to the United States and are subject under the Philippine Constitution to call to arms in defense of the American flag and the principle it symbolizes.

In the light of this law the Filipino-American residents find themselves in a "far more serious predicament than aliens who have never recognized loyalty to the American flag." They are, according to the Philippine Resident Commissioner, Quintin Paredes, "legally nationals and will remain so until the United States has withdrawn its sovereignty from the Islands."<sup>4</sup>

Evolving from this controversial issue is the one involving the "escape-gap" decision made by the United States Attorney General relative to the Filipinos' citizenship. He says: "The Filipinos who did not elect to preserve Spanish allegiance were declared to be citizens of

<sup>4</sup> Q. Paredes, *op. cit.*



the Philippine Islands as distinguished from the citizens of the United States."<sup>5</sup> According to the correct interpretation of the language of this decision the inhabitants of the Philippines are naturally by *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, and by action of Congress citizens of the Philippine Islands. Yet, on the other hand, these factors have no direct effect upon the Philippine citizens who have migrated into this country as nationals prior to the passage of the Filipino Exclusion Act which, as a consequence, invalidated the privileged political status of Filipinos in the Philippines as nationals of this country.

Moreover, large numbers of the Filipinos in America have resided for many years in this country. Many of them are married to American citizens. There are children born to these marriages; but because of the present peculiar and accidental position the heads of these families hold in this country, there is no direct public relief that can be given them, nor can they be allowed to work in any Federal Emergency Relief project. An illustration is reflected in the case of X, a resident Filipino graduate student, a W.P.A. worker in Los Angeles.

He is married to M., who is a citizen of the United States. They have a three-year-old daughter, and a partially dependent sister, who goes to college. The wife was a pleurisy case and the daughter is periodically afflicted with tonsilitis. Mr. X. is unable to perform manual labor due to some physical deficiency, but has sufficient education to qualify him to fit into a certain educational research project in one of the local high schools. Sad news came to the family when in 1937 the anti-alien ruling of the W.P.A. was passed. The ruling, although not specifically directed to exclude the Filipino immigrants who by force of circumstances are nationals of this country, does include the Filipinos under the category of an alien people. Hence X. was declared alien, and thus ineligible to work for W.P.A. or in any of its allied projects. He was advised to apply for citizenship to retain his job, but the law was already in operation against him; hence his effort becomes fruitless.

<sup>5</sup> Op. Atty. Gen., 370, 371, 400, 402; also by operation of the Act of Aug. 29, 1916.



As a consequence of his forced unemployment, his dependents were left penniless with no relief in sight. This depressed condition lasted for about two months when after that time he was offered a job in the kitchen in one of the downtown department stores. With the salary he is receiving his family is able to start life anew.

Supplementary to these findings is the problem confronting the Filipino students in relation to the National Youth Administration. In 1935-36 there were found many Filipinos serving in the diversified N.Y.A. projects in public and private schools. Today their activities under the project seem completely ended. This is doubtless the result of the recent antialien rulings of the W.P.A., that Filipino participation in the N.Y.A. has been diplomatically counted out. It is also possible that, having felt that they are being slighted by public officials and that public opinion is manifestly running counter against them, they will remain passive toward the withholding of N.Y.A. privileges.

In contrast to the former situations is the "relationship of the immigrant Filipinos with that of the public benefits"; viz., the social security, old-age pension, and unemployment insurance. The problems involved in these matters present a fourfold difficulty. In the first place, ninety-five per cent of the Filipinos who are residents in this country are domestic workers; second, their domicile in this country is one closely classified as seminomadic life because of the mobile life existence arising from the general character of their employment; third, "they come into this country with unwavering loyalty to their native land expecting to return after living here for a time"—hence, the United States is regarded by them as only a temporary recluse for their life existence; and fourth, their political status as aliens, which they are made to accept in this country, automatically debars them from receiving public aid or benefit.



It should be noted in this connection that, although the Filipinos are aware of their social-political status in this country as aliens, yet this study reveals that a large percentage of those working as janitors in apartment houses, hotels, and restaurants and in the diversified business houses are obliged to pay the same fees for public benefits as those required of the native and naturalized citizens of this country. The problem in this connection seems to lie in the fact that the Filipinos are being assessed to maintain a project the benefits of which they shall not share. It is interesting to note, however, some of the attitudes of the Filipinos toward such an anomalous position. Samples of these attitudes are as follows:

1. We pay the required dues only to keep our employments.
2. Everybody is paying it; why not us? If we cannot get the benefits, others will.
3. We owe our present existence to this country; therefore, we must do what is required of us, with or without benefits.

But some of the recalcitrant few view the situation with resentment. To them, all assessments for public benefits in this country are forms of taxation without representation. By virtue of the present law the Filipino in this country is completely devoid of the right to vote and hold office. He cannot become a citizen or hold white-collar jobs. He is national and yet he is subject to all the restrictions against aliens.<sup>6</sup>

Another problem, admittedly outside the scope of this study but which may bring information of value to the relief agencies, is that of the employment of Filipinos on American vessels and in civil service. Of the total number of Filipinos in this country more than 3,000

<sup>6</sup> McWilliams, "Thirty-six Thousand New Aliens in California," *Pacific Weekly*, 15:119 ff., August 24, 1936.



of them have been for a period of years serving satisfactorily on American vessels of the United States; viz., merchant marine, battle, and commercial ships. About 5,000 Filipinos are employed in the federal and state classified civil service, and a number of them are serving in the city government.<sup>7</sup> But according to the present Merchant Marine Act, which provides that "All licensed officers and no less than 80 per cent of the crews (including all employees of the ship) shall be citizens of the United States,"<sup>8</sup> it is difficult for the Filipinos to keep their present employment on the American vessels. Interrelatedly, the passage of the Philippine Independence Act and, incidentally, the enactment of the Filipino Immigration laws, which in effect included the Filipinos in the classification of aliens, complicate the problem. Thus, the Filipinos born in the Islands and properly entered into the United States but now classed as aliens are obviously disqualified to hold their respective jobs in the merchant marine or to hold white-collar employment because "they are neither native-born citizens, nor can they be completely naturalized."

In summary, therefore, of the present findings, it is found that "the Filipinos in America cannot become citizens of the United States and thus share in relief, nor can they be aliens and share in relief, and yet they are nationals who through some discriminatory acts cannot share in relief."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Q. Paredes, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> C. 858 of the Act of June 29, 1936; also 49 Stat. 2016.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*



# INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY IN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGES

*With Special Reference to the Midwest States*

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The first course in sociology in the state teachers colleges in the Midwest states appears to be similar in nature to the first course in colleges and universities throughout the country. There is, however, some tendency for the teachers colleges to lag behind the other institutions. These conclusions have been made after comparing the returns of a brief questionnaire sent to forty-four state teachers colleges in the Midwest states in March, 1938, with recent findings concerning the first course in other colleges and universities.

Twenty-eight replies were received from the forty-four teachers colleges. This was a sixty-four per cent return. The reason for the high percentage of return was the briefness of the questionnaire, which was printed on a stamped postal card. This study, then, deals with a highly adequate sample and has high validity from this point of view. It is true, however, that a very small space was allowed for statements of objectives of the course in sociology. Since no investigator—regardless of the length of the questionnaire used—has found it possible to make a satisfactory summary of objectives, this limitation of space is not to be considered a serious drawback. In fact, it is the writer's opinion that largeness of the sampling outweighs in importance the briefness of the answers.

*Objectives.* It seems almost impossible to summarize the objectives for the first course. But this experience is



nothing new. C. C. North in 1933<sup>1</sup> and Paul Foreman in 1937<sup>2</sup> had the same difficulty. Paul Foreman gave up the attempt to summarize the objectives. C. C. North pondered over the problem until he decided, apparently, to use insight rather than statistics as a research method.

Using the method of insight, it is possible to say that teachers college instructors in the Midwest wish their students to understand the meaning of social relations, culture, and personality and to use that understanding to help them function effectively in the social world as teachers and citizens.

*Content.* In moving toward the goal of social understanding and citizenship, Midwest sociology instructors appear to choose a variety of roads. Some choose the road of the sociological concepts; others find the social problems route more satisfactory. Again, some prefer synthetic sociology and others follow the course of a general survey of the social sciences. The most-used road is that of the sociological principles or concepts. Thus, teachers college instructors, like the other college instructors, lean from social problems toward sociological concepts. This same trend was found by Paul Foreman in his study of the sociology course as taught by one hundred and five sociology instructors.<sup>3</sup>

*Textbooks.* Textbooks, which determine largely the detailed content of the first course, are not in agreement. Young's *An Introductory Sociology*, the most frequently used, emphasizes social relations, culture, and personality. Hankin's *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (ranking third) is a "synthetic sociology"; and Osborn

<sup>1</sup> "Summary of Findings on the Present Status of the Introductory Course in Sociology, and Conclusions," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 7:68-78, September, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Private correspondence with Paul Foreman, who prepared "An Analysis of Content in Introductory Sociology Courses" for the 1938 meetings of the Southern Sociological Society.

<sup>3</sup> Foreman, *ibid.*



and Neumeyer in *The Community and Society* emphasize the community. Ross in his *Principles of Sociology* has still a different emphasis. It is this lack of uniformity among textbook writers that is, no doubt, the major factor contributing to the confusion of objectives and content in the first course in sociology.

We now come to evidence of a lag in the teachers college courses. Paul Foreman reports a heavy swing in the colleges and universities to Sutherland and Woodward's text. This is a recent publication of high quality, but only one of the twenty-eight teachers colleges is using it. This comment is not made to advertise a new textbook but to show that change in the teachers colleges tends to lag behind change in the other colleges.

*Classroom methods.* Classroom methods appear to be of the same general type as found in other colleges. Class discussion and lecture methods predominate. Discussion, however, leads the lecture method. Fifty-three per cent of class time was given to the discussion method and forty per cent to the lecture method. Projects and excursions consumed only seven per cent of the time.

*Training of instructors.* Sixty per cent of the instructors reporting held the Ph.D. degree. This is a great improvement over 1933. Then Mehus<sup>4</sup> found that only thirty-one per cent had Ph.D. degrees. His figures were for the teachers colleges in all parts of the country, however. Although the comparison is difficult to make, it is probably safe to say that the training of teachers college instructors is rapidly becoming comparable to that of college instructors elsewhere.

Not so favorable is the fact that only forty-six per cent of the teachers college instructors had graduate majors in sociology. Others, though teaching sociology, had their

<sup>4</sup> O. M. Mehus, "The Introductory Course in the State Teachers Colleges," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 7:43-48, September, 1933.



graduate majors in history, economics, political science, and psychology. Here, perhaps, lies another explanation for the variation in objectives and content in the first course, for untrained sociology instructors are unaware of advanced trends in the field.

Lack of proper graduate training in sociology is not, however, a weakness of teachers colleges alone. Foreman was amazed at some of his findings. For example, he found at least seven instructors in the southern group of colleges who showed no signs of ever having studied sociology, and one instructor "who in ranking the eighteen highest value concepts, as marked by the southern group of instructors, listed eleven as 'not mentioned' and four as 'incidental.'"<sup>5</sup>

*Teaching aids.* Numerous teaching aids were mentioned. Books, magazines, charts, and maps headed the list. Only small use was made of diagrams, photographs, slides, motion pictures, dioramas, transparencies, museum materials, bulletin boards, and exhibits. Thus, it appears that teachers college instructors have not gone "progressive" in educational methods as yet.

*Functional teaching.* To make a course functional is to relate the principles to life situations in such a manner that the learner is able to use the principles to function in practical situations more effectively. This is one of the objectives of sociology—implied from the study of the statements of objectives. But in answer to the question, "How is the course made functional?" there appeared to be much uncertainty. Twelve of the twenty-eight instructors did not answer the question. Others were very indefinite. A few said they related theory to life situations. Some induced their students to do social service work. Others had reports of student experience or related the course to teaching problems.

<sup>5</sup> Foreman, *op. cit.*



In practice, then, it may be said that in teachers colleges, as elsewhere, there is little concurrence in objectives, content, or textbook organization. The direction of the first course in sociology is diverse and uncertain. Furthermore, classroom methods are traditional; and, although the instructors are well trained, many are not properly trained in sociology. Finally, there appears to be little serious attempt to make the course functional.

One cannot complete a paper on the teaching of sociology without giving consideration to the steps that might be taken to improve the present situation.

In the first place, it is proposed that all teachers college instructors through this organization come to a speedy agreement concerning the objectives of the first course in sociology in the state teachers colleges of the Midwest states. Perhaps they may accept the idea—implied by their statements—that it is the function of the first course in sociology in the state teachers colleges to prepare teachers to function more effectively in the group life of the community and school and to control culture and social relations in the school and community in such a manner as to develop more integrated child personalities.

Assuming these objectives as finally accepted, we can now make several suggestions for possible next steps in the teaching of sociology. In the first place, most of the textbooks now used in teachers colleges fail to recognize the laws of learning in their construction. They usually make a general survey of the whole field of sociology. One might almost say they endeavor to make sociologists out of the students of the first course. Hundreds of difficult sociological concepts and names of sociologists are expected to be learned. In view of the findings of educational psychologists concerning the rapid rate of forgetting, it is not surprising that most students forget a great deal of the first course a few weeks after they have



completed it if not before. Certainly too much is covered to give the student the time or the opportunity to orient his thinking and behavior in relation to the everyday groups in which he must function.

Again, textbooks now used have little material dealing with the everyday adjustments to culture and social relations in school and community. Present textbooks are apparently written for the less professionally interested liberal arts student.

Furthermore, current textbooks fail to consider the limitations of the social and economic backgrounds of teachers college students. They come from middle and lower class homes of small villages and farms. For example, in one teachers college for which data are available, fifty-eight per cent of the student body come from the farm and village, and their parents are in agriculture and labor. Other parents are small business men in the same small communities. Students from such bucolic backgrounds lack, in the writer's opinion, the proper base for abstract sociological generalization demanded by the present textbooks now in use.

In view of the present situation, the writer believes that textbooks in sociology should be written especially for the teachers colleges—but they should be written by sociologists. These books should limit the number of abstract ideas and consider only the most important concepts. These concepts should be introduced in such a way that they become functional in the lives of the students. Also, in a teachers college textbook in sociology many of the illustrations and reports of research should deal with the local community and school and classroom groups. In this way the textbook will give promise of becoming functional.

In the conduct of sociology classes the same ideas should be kept in mind. Only a limited number of ab-



stractions should be attempted in one term. These should be carefully related to contemporary life. Also, since teachers college students are to teach, the method of the classroom should be more like the method that may be used in the schools. There is no reason why individual and group projects, excursions, and visual materials of many kinds should not be used to make clear the relation between sociological principles and daily living in groups.

In the future, then, teachers colleges should see sociology, taught by doctors of sociology using functional textbooks, become an indispensable aid in helping teachers understand social groups and how they work. Until then, the verbalization and rapid forgetting of difficult sociological abstractions crowded into huge textbooks will be the order of the day.



# THE PHILOSOPHY OF GROUP WORK

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The philosophy of group work<sup>1</sup> is found in the underlying purposes of group workers. It may be discovered by studying the basic concepts in group work.

Six underlying purposes of group work as gleaned from our examination of the concepts in the field will now be presented. This exhibit of the philosophy of group work is merely a tentative proposal. It is not complete or final.

1. The philosophy of group work includes the promotion of the group process. By group process is meant the free interaction of all the individuals in association for a given purpose or set of purposes. That is to say, each individual in each association of persons freely stimulates all the others according to his abilities and level of mental development. In turn, each is freely stimulated by all the others according to their degrees of development. This does not mean equality of stimulation, for no two individuals represent the same level of mental development. It means gradations of stimulation, but freedom within these variations. In this way everyone experiences the maximum of personality growth, on one hand, and contributes a maximum influence to the development of all his associates, on the other. Moreover, the group develops a maximum of self-direction and makes its decisions in terms of its own needs.

The emphasis on *freedom* of interaction signifies a quantitative purpose, which by itself is partial and in-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the term, group education, will some day supplant the current concept of group work. See H. S. Dimock, C. E. Hendry, and K. P. Zerfoss, *A Professional Outlook on Group Education* (New York: Association Press, 1938).



complete. There is greater freedom in independent groups than in a subgroup that is a part of a larger organization. The subgroup, however, need not deny its members complete freedom of interaction.

To guarantee to a group this freedom of interaction within itself means protecting it from outside interference as far as is compatible with the needs of the larger groups within which it functions. The members of the interacting group must also be protected from the idiosyncrasies and intolerant attitudes of its own members. This freedom of interaction is hampered and prevented to the extent that the members are not educated for it. Hence, the first tenet in the philosophy of group work calls for a preparatory education whereby people will safeguard freedom of interaction.

2. The philosophy of group work includes the promotion of the democratic process. By the democratic process is meant social interaction in which no one dominates the others, that is, controls the behavior of the others. The democratic process is social interaction in which no one is controlled by anyone else except as he intelligently in terms of his development has accepted such leadership, and has developed a social self-control.<sup>2</sup>

The democratic process is promoted, first, through members of the group who present ideas and plans to be discussed and to be accepted only after extensive and free discussion. It is advanced, second, through the democratic attitudes of its own member-leaders. It is encouraged, third, by the proposals and methods of group work leaders. The democratic process is not furthered if a leader, either a member-leader or a group work leader, professes to believe in it and then shows signs of being hurt or even disappointed and chagrined if his own wishes are not

<sup>2</sup> The greater the individual freedom the greater the need for an enlarged self-control. The only alternative is more group control.



accepted. It does not operate if members accept ideas because their own leader or because the group work leader asks them to do so as an accommodation to him. It does not function if the members ignorantly or indolently accept programs and propositions that are presented to them. "The democratic process," says Stella Hartman, "goes on within a group to the degree in which they think for themselves and act in behalf of the entire group."<sup>3</sup>

Again, the function of informal education is clear if the democratic process is to have a chance. The democratic process will be defeated at the start if either member-leaders or group work leaders are not educated to refrain from domination in any way even by emotional reactions, by tone of voice, by facial gestures, by insinuation, or haughty responses. It can not function if the rank and file of members are not educated in the home, the school, the church, on the playground, or in the neighborhood to think in terms and in behalf of the entire group.

3. The philosophy of group work includes the centering of the aims of the individuals in the common weal more than in themselves. This purpose involves the conditioning of each individual member so that his attitudes are centered not in any individual, not in himself, and not necessarily in the particular group as such, but in the welfare of the members of the particular group and of persons outside the group as well. Here is a purpose that is deep-seated and that sometimes runs counter to many of the impulses of human nature. Here group work finds its most difficult purpose to achieve. Here is where socialized intelligence is required to the "nth" degree.

The group tends to center the behavior of its members in itself and its own welfare. But the philosophy of group

<sup>3</sup> In a written communication.



work goes one step further, organizing human attitudes in terms of the welfare of all human beings.

An indescribable thrill and a too-little-known joy accompany behavior that is others-centered without thought of "What will I get out of it?" or of any other kind of personal gain or reward. Experience that is genuine and sincere in this direction is a most significant conditioning factor in life. Discussion that sets up the welfare of all other human beings not as group members but as personalities is a milder and not-to-be-ignored instrument.

4. The philosophy of group work includes the developing of the creative capacities of each individual. In a simple way this basic aim may be achieved in the training of the individual through joint participation in handicrafts and artcrafts so as to bring into operation all his latent creative abilities. It is not worth while to promote handicrafts and the arts if the club members are to learn merely to copy. A skillful group leader needs to look for the latent art and craft (and other) abilities of his pupils and to use various stimuli to arouse these hidden talents. Self-made comparisons of the efforts of different individuals will arouse in some of them brilliant ideas and original designs. The stimulus that comes from working at similar craft undertakings with others will arouse originality. An unconscious competition will be sufficient to arouse others to do better than they have ever done before.<sup>4</sup>

Carry this plan of developing the creative abilities of individual members into the fields of mental and social organization, and the result will be superior achievement. Give each group member suitable and encouraging opportunities to lead in group discussions, and many dis-

<sup>4</sup> The awarding of prizes or badges of merit is in general to be avoided, lest many persons work for the honors rather than for the joy of creating *objets d'art*.



cover new and latent abilities. With each individual producing his artistic and mental best, the social achievement of the whole will rise to outstanding levels.

5. The philosophy of group work includes a therapeutic reorganization of unadjusted club members.<sup>5</sup> Some of the failures in family groups, in school groups, in church groups, in neighborhood groups can be corrected by "group therapy." Through therapy, group opportunities for doing things that have been denied a boy or girl elsewhere may be provided. Still more important, recognition and status may be accorded which previously had been lacking. In this way distorted personality may develop into a better-balanced type. The therapeutic purpose of group work lies deeply imbedded in everyday activities, for example, in creative handicraft and art-craft work, in club participation and discussion, in being a functioning member of a democratically operating association, in being conditioned in others-centered directions.

Even some of the individual's tendencies to failure that are due to physical handicaps, to mental deficiencies, or to other factors of nongroup origins may be offset if he is given proper group environment. If a group did nothing more than provide status for him despite his weakness, it would be performing a valuable therapeutic function.

The role of the case worker is subordinate to that of the group worker. The latter calls in the former for purposes of consultation and for recommendations concerning treatment. In so far as these refer to the individual as an individual, the case worker will conduct the treatment process but subject to the larger group work process that is going on. The case worker may step "into the secondary

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. R. Slavson, *Creative Group Education* (New York: Association Press, 1937).



role with the group worker taking the lead in determining what activities will bring out the desired result and to what degree they can bring about the result."<sup>6</sup>

This fifth element in the philosophy of group work is sometimes achieved through "case work in group work." The larger group work agencies are leading the way by employing one or more case workers with psychiatric backgrounds. Therapy thus is available for the more baffling mental problems of group members. In these instances therapy is achieved partly through the group work process, but in special cases through individual treatment under the auspices of a group worker and in connection with its group work facilities.

6. The philosophy of group work is also found in the processes of informal group education. Progressive education, which is making some success in the public schools and some mistakes, is likely to achieve an even greater advance in the leisure-time field through group work programs. The pertinent philosophy is found not only in the awakening of personal stimuli through the individual's free participation in group activity, not only in personal development thus indirectly achieved, but also and chiefly in the reintegration of all one's personal forces in the direction of group and social activity and organization.<sup>7</sup>

As time goes on, the philosophy of group work will develop. It will be defined with more precision than can be done now. Its further definition waits on a better understanding of informal group education by group workers themselves. It waits on more clear-cut statements of group work concepts. As these concepts increase in number, in acceptance, and in clarification, the philosophy of group work will achieve a better interpretation than is possible at present.

<sup>6</sup> Miss Hartman, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Grace L. Coyle, *Studies in Group Behavior* (New York: Association Press, 1937).



# Foreign Sociological Notes

## JAPANESE SOCIOLOGY: AN OUTLINE AND SUMMARY<sup>1</sup>

*Edited by*

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Sociology in Japan has been a closed book to most students of sociology in America, because of the absence of translations into English or other Occidental languages. This fact has kept them from knowing the great sociological interest that has been present for years, but which has been increasing at a rapid rate during the post-World-War years.<sup>2</sup> In particular there has been concealed from us the very considerable body of sociological writing which the scholars of that country have produced during the past decade and a half.

Once again Dr. Junichiro Matsumoto, of Tokyo Imperial and Hosei universities, who continues to be our chief source of information, puts us in his debt by selecting and summarizing the dozen leading volumes within the field. In the task he was assisted by several persons to whom he gives generous credit. He writes:

My friend, Kaiyoshi Yoshinaga, who studied Sociology at Tokyo Imperial University and afterwards worked on a catalogue of sociological materials in Japanese, has worked with me in the planning and writing of this present volume. The idea of the book is mine, but with the exception of one chapter from one of my own earlier writings, entitled "The History of Japanese Sociological Study," the rest of the

<sup>1</sup> Based upon Junichiro Matsumoto: *Japanese Sociology* (Tokyo: Jicho Co., 1937). In Japanese.

<sup>2</sup> For details see Earle Eubank, "Sociology Past and Present in Japan," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22:347-57, and especially its accompanying bibliography on the history of sociology in Japan.



material of the book, as well as the catalogue and index are his. I am grateful to him for his effort and I wish to make clear that the book is almost entirely the result of his own study. I am responsible for the selection of materials on the History of Japanese Sociology which has been criticized and corrected by Mr. T. Iwai, the head of Kobundo Publishing Co. On the materials about social research and social statistics we were assisted by Mr. Y. Hayashi, lecturer at Tokyo Imperial University, and Mr. T. Nakayawa, chief of the government Statistical Bureau. I appreciate the assistance of these men and express my deep feeling of gratitude to them.

The first section of the book consists of Dr. Matsumoto's own chapter, referred to above, entitled "The History of Sociology in Japan." Although this has not been actually published in English, the substance of it has been so fully incorporated in two articles already published in American journals that there is no need to go into them here.<sup>3</sup>

The following pages are a digest of the volumes which he has specified as "The Main Books of Japanese Sociology."

J. MATSUMOTO: THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY.  
Tokyo: Kobundo, 1935, pp. 302.

The writer's aim in this book is to present three special divisions of Japanese sociology, and to give the positions of a correct system of their division of labor; and he seeks to outline an undivided system of Japanese sociology in general. He considers that sociology is a special systematic social discipline, but not a "science" in the strict meaning of the word.

Under the first chapter's title, "Sociology," he gives a definition of sociology as a rational, realistic science of the social sphere, and indicates that the essential parts of sociology, from the point of view of the object, are theory as to (1) social group, (2) social process, and (3) social form. He deals with (1) theoretical sociology and (2) realistic

<sup>3</sup> J. F. Steiner: "The Development and Present Status of Sociology in Japanese Universities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41:707-22.

Howard Becker: "Sociology in Japan," *American Sociological Review*, 1: 455-71.



sociology. He is opposed to such a broad sociological system as would include in addition (3) practical sociology, (4) social history, and (5) the logic and method of social science.

In treating the "History of Sociology," he criticizes the development of systematic sociology, the Durkheim school of sociology, formal sociology, cultural sociology, social statistics, and declares his own viewpoint is made up rather of the Blenge, Mannheim, and Walter schools of thought. The subject matter of sociology is objective *social facts* comprising social *group*, social *process*, social *form*; and these are the essential parts of sociology, as properly understood.

TEIZO TODA: LECTURES ON SOCIOLOGY. Tokyo: Kobundo, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 174; Vol. II, pp. 242.

In Volume I the writer designates Comte and Simmel as the most important representatives of the various forms of sociology. He especially emphasizes the modern sociology as represented by Simmel. Comte deals with the main subjects of sociology in their whole relation to complex social facts and then seeks for a universal principle by which to determine the direction of social change. This he regards as a proper function of sociology. Simmel holds that the central subject matter of sociology is purely social; in other words, it is mutual psychological action as a group form. Sociology deals with the general character of the group forms that result from interaction.

Volume II takes up details of sociological theory. Society is defined as the unity of the needs and necessities of the people who want to live a collective life. Sociology is the scientific study of that unity by the method of universal interpretation. Social relations are (1) the relationship between individuals; (2) the relationship between the individual and the group; and (3) the relationship between groups. The social process is analyzed from the contacts of particular individuals to the unification of society as a whole. The action of society is the influence of the group upon the individuals who comprise it.

YASUMA TAKATA: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. Tokyo: Iwanami Book Co., 1920, pp. 526.

The writer denies that sociology is a general discipline, and says it is, rather, a universal culture science. The object of sociology is to learn what things make up society as such; i.e., sociology is a science which



unifies our understanding of society as a phenomenon of collective human life. The problems of sociology are (1) social forms, (2) mutual relationship, and (3) social unity.

A preparatory chapter deals with the problem: "What is sociology?" and discusses the position of sociology among the sciences. The aim of the second chapter is to discover the principle (or law) that controls the forms and processes of society, the composition of society, the division of labor, classes and national forms, the unity of society, and the existence of society. This is followed by a consideration of the natural action of society, especially with reference to the law of unity and fixed quantity, the law of the spread and decline of primitive society, and the law of socialization of economic profits. The consequences of social action are: (1) the development of culture, the forms of that development, and its relation to population; (2) the increasing of freedom, the causes of increasing freedom and its process, the connection of freedom and equality, and its relation to the class system; (3) the formation of individuality through culture, freedom and individual differences, the process of developing individuality, the individuality of single human beings, and the individualities of society.

SEIDO SHIMMEI: THE ESSENTIALS OF SOCIOLOGY.  
Tokyo: Kobundo, 1935, pp. 393.

The writer emphasizes the view of historical sociology. Sociology is a synthetic science as compared with other social sciences. He thinks the foundations of society are in its social forces, especially, and regards the economic drive as the one most fundamental. Upon this idea he bases his theory of sociology, and his explanation of the main problems and history of society.

The theory of sociology covers a synthesis of sociology, reality, and rationality. Under social forces is included a consideration of the fundamental elements of society and of the system of social forces. The idea of the elements and system is a part of synthetic society. He divides synthetic society into two parts: primary groups, and nonprimary groups such as race and nation. In the analysis of today's society from the viewpoint of history he emphasizes the importance of study of nationalistic society, because that is the major type of today's society, whose formation is largely due to capitalism. Social classes, political parties, and the national spirit are discussed in this connection.

The historical criticism of sociology leads the writer to take the view that sociology is a fundamental and intellectual expression of social



conditions. The origin of sociology is in modern naturalism. Social thought is presented from Hobbes and Rousseau to the present time. The writer believes that Marx and Lenin are sociologists, because of their carefully developed sociological theories upon which their dynamic and concrete programs of action were based.

**T. KADA: THE HISTORY OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY.** Tokyo: Iwanami Book Co., 1935, pp. 296.

The necessity of the historical study of sociology is stressed because it is a rather new science and there are as yet no special types. The writer's aim is to make clear how sociological study and method have developed. His sociological method involves, at one and the same time, realistic and experimental observation. He gives a bird's-eye view of many European and American thinkers (Comte, Spencer, Ludwig, Stein, and others before the appearance of Marx) who, directly or indirectly, have contributed to the sociological method in the early part of the twentieth or latter nineteenth century and may be regarded as the founders of sociology. The meaning of sociology is discussed in this connection.

The writer traces the sociological idea of the early part of the modern era and the beginning of natural-scientific study as exemplified in Machiavelli. The development of the sociological idea in England is traced next, including the victory of early capitalism, and economic theories at the time of the formation of modern nations; the theory of the socially controlled nation, and the theory of the function of the nation. The development of the sociological idea in France includes an emphasis on natural circumstances, the theory of social control (St. Simon), and economic and spiritual interpretations. The development of the sociological idea in Germany involves the national theory of Kant's German liberalism, the negation of individualistic national theory and organic national theory by Fichte, and the organic national theory of Adam Müller.

**U. IWASAKI: SOCIOLOGISTS AND BOOKS.** Tokyo: Tokushoin, 1924, pp. 644.

The writer attempts to introduce the sociologists and their theories, by whom he was influenced directly or indirectly when he studied in America and Europe. This book is especially useful because it deals with many sources of materials of sociological literature as found in the various countries.



*United States:* The writer explains the personality and theories of Giddings and introduces twenty American sociologists and their theories or books from Lester F. Ward to Robert E. Park. *France:* The personality and theories of René Worms, and the situations of the Durkheim school and anti-Durkheim school are singled out for special emphasis. *England:* The personality and theories of Hobhouse, also of Wallis, Laski, Cole, and others, are stressed in particular. *Germany:* Max Adler, Spann, Von Wiese, and the situation of German sociological parties are the outstanding developments. *Italy:* Pareto, Cosentini, and others such as Loria, Sighele, and Ferreri are recognized as the leading Italian sociologists.

M. SHINMEI: THE THEORY OF FORMAL SOCIOLOGY.  
Tokyo: Iwamatsu, 1935, pp. 674.

The writer aims to re-examine the problems of general sociology from a special angle by the observation of formal sociology. He deals with such subjects and ideas as: development of formal sociology, theory of method, main theories of social idea and formal sociology, theory of social relationship, theory of social laws, theory of social categories and criticism of formal sociology, the position of formal sociology, criticism of method, criticism of social ideas, criticism of main theory, and criticism of the academic system. He introduces and criticizes formal sociology in great detail. He does not agree with the view that F. Toennies and Metzger are formal sociologists, but he regards C. Bouglé of France as a true formal sociologist and he discusses his sociology. Finally, the writer presents the view that the ideal sociological system is that of Simmel, which combines formal sociology with general sociology into one synthesis. He anticipates the development of a system eventually in which formal sociology will be unified with the organic view.

T. TANABE: THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF  
FRENCH SOCIOLOGY. Tokyo: Tokoshoin, 1931, pp. 418.

This book consists of some essays which the writer published under: (1) the study of the positive spirit of Comte's sociology; (2) the analysis of the theories of Durkheim and of his school as an orthodox development of Comte; and (3) the examination of theories which, consciously or unconsciously, build into the system of Comte.

The writer deals with the change in the conception of the idea of progress in French social thought and sociology. He discusses how the idea of progress, which was claimed by Descartes and formalized by



Pascal, was brought by Turgot, Condorcet, and St. Simon to Comte and composed as a sociology by him. Prehistory of sociology, as found in Montesquieu, Turgot, and Rousseau, is presented next, followed by an analysis of the changes from Comte to Durkheim. Durkheim and his school's social morphology, his educational sociology, socialism, and the sociology of religious forms are discussed in particular.

R. IMORI: *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. Tokyo: Meguro Book Co., 1929, pp. 167.

The writer claims that rural sociology deals with the welfare of the farmer as a problem, by this characteristic distinguishing it from other rural social sciences. Under this special point of view he cuts off rural economy, rural hygiene, and rural education from J. M. Gillette's rural sociology, which is a synthetic sociology. On the other hand, he desires to add some realistic elements to Wiese's rural sociology, which as it stands is too special and too formal.

In the various chapters he discusses the definition of rural sociology and comparison of rural and urban; the characteristics of rural life and the composition of its population; social organization as the great form of their social control; the analysis of rural population by age, movements, percentage of marriage, and its average rate per year; the great influence of natural conditions on the fatalistic and individualistic psychology of rural people; the expansion of cities, and decline of urban life; rural leaders; changes and rise of class ideas, from a co-operative society to a capitalistic society; and the rural classes, considered spiritually, socially, economically.

T. TODA: *SOCIAL RESEARCH*. Tokyo: Jichocho, 1933, pp. 437.

"Social research does not aim to make a judgment of right or wrong directly about the living form of society, but it is the (most effective) method whereby to obtain the most adequate material upon which to make a judgment without error. Research is for the purpose of learning the best method of living correctly. Which method of research is the most effective for such cases? What are the limitations of those methods in application? What facts can we learn by the method of research?"

The writer classifies social research into two kinds. The one emphasizes the method of collecting materials for social improvement; the other emphasizes the collection of materials for the study of social science. This volume deals with the latter, in the main. The methods of



social research can be divided into three parts: (1) total research, (2) partial research, and (3) individual research. Total research is usually used for natural groups; for example, population research and census-taking. Partial research is usually used for cultural groups, for instance, about business, living standards, or marital conditions, and education. Individual research is usually used for character examination. He explains in detail by many examples. As to preparation for research, he explains the importance of selection of research subjects, the training of research workers, the nature of preparatory research, and, lastly, the utilization of research materials.

T. YAMAGUCHI: *THE STUDY OF SOCIAL WORK*. Tokyo: Nippon Hyoronsha, 1934, pp. 417.

The writer explains that social work is not a science, but a technique. He endeavors to provide a foundation of practical knowledge for social work students. Japan, where the tendency to publicity is pretty strong, should take her theory and system from Germany, because there the conditions are almost the same. He puts national and public social work as the center. He lists the aims of social work: to clear up and soften the defects due to present capitalistic social relations; and to make for its harmonious development. Social work is required to solve the problem of hard living which is produced by the present system of capitalistic economy itself. Its motto must be: "No one hungry in any house."

The main subjects are: (1) present social life and social work; (2) the idea of social work, its essence and tasks, technique of social work, its relationship with social policy; (3) the historical development of the social work idea; (4) the motive of social work, its object, its types and methods, the necessity for it, and the profession of social work and its standards; (5) limitations of the various kinds of social work; (6) the public and private institutions of social work in Japan, and their connections and organization; (7) cost and financial sources of public and private social work, the need for international co-operation; and (8) the ethical and educational character of social work. The appendix includes social work legislation.

S. YONEDA: *PRESENT DAY PSYCHOLOGY AND MODERN CULTURE*. Tokyo: Kobundo, 1917, pp. 775.

If we do not put the study of social psychology into the center or at the starting point when we study social facts, we cannot understand the



true nature of social factors. This book is a collection of essays on the study of present-day psychology and various forms of modern culture.

The love for newness characteristic of today is due both to the bourgeois easy adaptation of new inventions and to the proletariat expectation of a new world. The increasing power of communication is a factor in social control, particularly the printed, spoken, and broadcasted word. Fashion psychology as dealt with by Tarde, Simmel, and Sombart is reviewed. Sex characteristics of modern life are pointed out.

The chapter on marriage and the family deals with (1) economic marriage, (2) free marriage, (3) abuse of sexual instinct, and (4) increase of birth control. The writer explains the decrease of birth rates in modern cultural countries as something which reflects the spirit of modern culture, free action, free enjoyment. It will be impossible, he contends, to prevent another war without the formulation of international co-operative birth control.

The other chapters deal with city centrism, which is due to worship of city; the spiritual and economic meaning of modern cities; modern culture, city plans, and city surveys; modern mysticism; and racial difference, which is not a directly responsible source of struggle, but which makes the struggle more severe when it comes, and which will become one of the very important problems of the future both in national and international relations.

In the pages of these illuminating volumes we have for the first time the basis for a fairly general knowledge of the lines of thought that are now appearing in the representative literature of sociology in Japan. Both the titles and the contents bear a striking similarity to those that were current during the corresponding period of development of sociology in the United States. Precisely as the earlier writers were concerned with the questions of what is sociology and what are its principal centers of attention, so the Japanese are now working through the same problem. Another similarity is that they also are having their difficulties in clarifying the distinctions among sociology, social work, ethics, and kindred complications involved in establishing its special function.

As we read through the materials, we are also struck with the fact of their utilization of the same major



sources of European thought. Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Simmel, Toennies, Hobhouse, and other familiar names frequent in their pages reveal an indebtedness akin to our own to these same men.

Of greater and more painful significance for American sociology is the notable absence of references to American writers. Doubtless this is partly due to the earlier availability of French, English, and German sources in the Japanese language, and partly to the larger number of their students in European universities. But is it not also a commentary upon how little American sociological writing has penetrated the thought circles of Japan? While we cannot be certain upon this point, it is a question that involves thoughtful consideration upon our part.

In any event, even the inadequate glimpses of the Japanese sociological landscape which of recent months we have been able to obtain through a few small windows are enough to acquaint us with the fact that our great neighbor to the west is developing thought patterns which broaden the basis of our kinship with her within this important field.



## Social Psychology

THE INTELLIGENT INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY. By P. W. BRIDGMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. vi+305.

Like countless other human beings, the author is conscious that his life will not stand intelligent scrutiny, and yet his desire "to lead an intelligently well ordered life" grows apace. This discrepancy between failure and desire leads the author to analyze some of the underlying problems. He draws first upon his knowledge of physics and concludes that concepts "which have been evolved and tested only in a limited range of circumstances have little presumptive value when the range of circumstances is extended." He proceeds on the assumption that "the same principles which physics has discovered to control any valid reconstruction of its concepts also control any valid reconstruction of social concepts."

In the social world persons use different "atoms of discourse," and hence misunderstand one another. Somewhat reminiscent of Bacon's "idols of the cave," the atoms of discourse arise out of a person's peculiar experiences. Thus, there is a sense in which a person speaks a language which is peculiar to himself. Not only special words but all his normal vocabulary are shot through with interpretations that have emerged from his own distinctive experiences. The author finds that the meanings of the words that one uses are "operational," that is, they arise out of the sequence of procedure which precedes their use and which in a way they describe.

There is no short cut to social reforms. Every reform involves a series of steps and a proper functioning of key individuals. If one of these key persons does not perform up to the exaction required of him by the reform, then the reform will not be effected. The only compulsion that society can put on a person is that of a "superior and external force." The individual recurrently faces the question whether or not he will accept or reject the expectations and demands of society. A great social chasm is developing between those "who like to think and those who do not." National ideologies are emphasizing and promoting this chasm. If we give the individual the central position in life, then we will interfere with him as little as possible. Education will provide him with the technique by which he "may examine his own drives, see where they are leading him, and take his own action." In this way he may develop an



intelligently ordered way of living. The value of this formula depends in part on how far the individual will make use of the experience of preceding generations and how far he is able to develop co-operative attitudes, or how far this method will produce more socialized attitudes than does a formal and ordered system of education with disciplinary measures imposed from without.

E.S.B.

READINGS IN MENTAL HYGIENE. By ERNEST R. GROVES and PHYLLIS BLANCHARD. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. xii+596.

The authors have brought together a wealth of materials by many prominent authors in the field of psychiatry, psychology, and mental hygiene to bear on the problems of adjustment and maladjustment in childhood, adolescence, marriage, industry and business, religion, public opinion, and other aspects of social and personal life. Yet such authorities as Ralph Truitt, I. W. Thomas, Bernard Glueck, Frederick H. Allen, George S. Stevenson, Jessie Taft, and others are conspicuously missing.

The volume is well and logically organized, and should prove of considerable interest and value to those social, psychiatric, and mental hygiene workers who can rest content with simon-pure thinking about the origin, development, and cause of mental problems. Those readers who recognize that the *content of the mind* is social will not rest satisfied unless mental problems and mental hygiene are discussed from the standpoint of *cultural patterns* or at least from the standpoint of social and cultural components of social biology.

E.F.Y.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PERSONALITY. By LOUIS P. THORPE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938, pp. xvi+602.

First of all, the reader is struck by the comprehensive command of the extensive literature on personality which the author possesses. The book is a well-digested handbook of the leading experimental studies on personality and theories of personality. In the next place, the skill with which the main points of many and varied personality studies are woven together into an evolving theme is superior. Compactness, smoothness of treatment, and lucidity of style are achieved. A third observation may



emphasize the eclectic viewpoint. All the data are treated with fairness. Each important datum is given a hearing and then is evaluated in terms of science and sanity. The total result is a book on personality which is characterized by originality in organization and in conclusions. The subtitle "A Guide for Students and Teachers" is an accurate forecast. Readability and reliability make this book a valuable reference work.

Among the topics presented are: the concept of personality, biological foundations, dynamics of personality, emotional conditioning, nature and development of personality, personality disturbances, and measure of personality. It is not clear that a discussion of the educability of personality should come as early as chapters III and IV. Perhaps the difficulty lies in the main titles to these chapters because the content for the most part is of a foundational nature. Personality is presented largely in terms of self-centered drives, but possibly there are alter-centered impulses and "wishes." These and other criticisms that might be made, however, are minor and should not obscure the worth of a highly useful guide to the study of personality.

E.S.B.

**FULCRA OF CONFLICT.** By DOUGLAS SPENCER. New York: World Book Company, 1939, pp. xii+306.

This is a psychological study of "certain aspects of the methodology of personality-test construction," investigating the hypothesis "that currently used personality-test items have no dependable meaning in the abstract, and that responses to them can be evaluated only on the basis of their personal meaning to the individual subject," and that "subjective factors in the concrete experience of the individual determine the personal meaning of such responses." That no tests for personality measurement and rating have as yet yielded convincing materials or produced such results as the intelligence tests would seem to furnish sufficient reason for pushing further ahead on this important matter of attacking personality through quantitative techniques. Recognizing the baffling and complex nature of the problem and the limitations of objective methods, Dr. Spencer has wisely chosen to demonstrate the validity and utility of quantitative measurement within the field he pleases to designate as the "fulcra of conflict of complacency," especially since conflict is defined as "the degree of discrepancy and incongruity between the individual's report of his own characteristics or behaviors and his report on corresponding items in relation to his fulcra, i.e., the discrepancy between his behavior and his ideals regarding such behavior, his



mother's ideals, his father's ideals, his mother's behavior, his father's behavior, and the behavior of his closest associates." The discussion of the testing upon high school students and the revelations disclosed make for a book that becomes valuable and arresting. The study has indeed justified itself as a stimulating project in the whole field of personality measurement.

M.J.V.

**THE MENTALLY ILL IN AMERICA.** By ALBERT DEUTSCH. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1937, pp. xvii+530.

This book is written for both the professional and lay person. It sets forth in interesting style and with penetrating insight the history of, the provisions for, and the attitudes toward the mentally ill in America from the earliest known instances through colonial days to the present. The story of punishment, torture, repression, and indifference to the afflicted gives the proper setting for and arouses appreciation of rational humanitarianism and reform that followed at the close of the eighteenth century.

The history of psychiatric care, the mental hygiene movement, institutional care and treatment, and the various pioneers, militant crusaders, and founders associated with the care and treatment of the mentally ill are discussed with the scientific objectivity, broad social viewpoint, and the clearness which only a true scholar can command.

There is an exhaustive bibliography on a variety of topics. The book should prove of considerable interest and value to all those concerned with the institutionalization of the mentally ill, with the changing conceptions of mental hygiene, with commitment laws, and with modern trends in institutional care and treatment. It is indeed an arresting dramatic narrative of man's struggle against mental disease in America.

E.F.Y.

**THE NINETEEN THIRTY-EIGHT MENTAL MEASUREMENTS YEARBOOK.** OSCAR K. BUROS, Editor. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1938, pp. xiv+415.

This volume is a continuation of *Educational, Psychological, and Personality Tests of 1933, 1934, and 1935*, and also of the 1936 edition of this work. Several enlargements appear in the present volume. Mental measurements is a term used to include "aptitude, educational, intel-



ligence, personality, and psychological tests, questionnaires, and rating scales." A wide range of reviewers and of periodicals has been utilized. Many schools of thought are represented. Reviewers have been limited "to either 300- to 600-word reviews or 40- to 100-word appraisals." The enlarged classification of materials in the 1938 Yearbook appears according to the following plan: mental tests (168 pages), mental measurement books (107 pages), research and statistical methodological books (93 pages), regional testing program reports (6 pages), periodical directory and indexes (11 pages), publishers' directory and indexes (7 pages), index of titles (13 pages), and index of names. The School of Education of Rutgers University is deserving of high praise for sponsoring so valuable a Yearbook, and one that is certain to become increasingly useful. It is difficult to appreciate the vast amount of painstaking work which has been put into bringing together and preparing so well-executed a handbook.

E.S.B.

**PSYCHOMETRIC METHODS.** By J. P. GUILFORD. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936, pp. xvi+566.

The aim of the volume is to "teach the student of psychology how to deal effectively and intelligently with quantitative data." The author concerns himself with applied statistics and presents a minimum of derivation of formulas. He defines statistical concepts briefly and proceeds to a discussion of their applications to concrete problems. He makes references freely to secondary sources. He begins with a presentation of statistical methods as applied to experimental psychology (psychophysical methods) and indicates types of problems to which the method is adapted. He sets forth the method of average error, properties of the normal distribution curve, the method of minimal change, and the constant methods. Experiments for illustrative purposes are freely introduced and serve to illucidate the discussion.

Psychological scaling methods induct the student into the law of comparative judgment, of rank order, and of rating scale methods. The correlation and test methods stress functional relationships between variables as well as amount of correlation. Methods of mental testing and a history of the movement and technique are discussed in a stimulating manner.

The book is well organized and soundly presented. It contains numerous useful references to the literature of educational, experimental, and social psychology.

E.F.Y.



## Social Work

**SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1939.** By RUSSELL H. KURTZ, editor. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939, pp. 730.

In this fifth issue of a highly and justly respected work, a number of developments of the fourth edition may be noted. Part II is new. It gives "a state-by-state description of the public assistance programs in effect in 48 states." It is significant in that it reveals the growth of governmental social services. It supplements the "topical articles" in Part I, which cover 490 pages and which are exceedingly valuable. Some consolidation in these articles has been effected. Extensions occur elsewhere and reorganizations have been made as in the article on "child welfare services," which now includes "adoption, child and youth protection, children of unmarried parents, day nurseries, and preschool children." Among the new articles in Part I are those on "administration of social agencies" and "social action." The topical articles are classified so that they now give a factual, cross-section view of organization and practice in the various fields as they appear in 1938. Interesting is the editor's comment that "social work" is still a term "of uncertain definition." The materials relate to the United States, except for the article on "international social work." The same careful editing is characteristic of this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Its usefulness and value are bound to exceed the worth of the earlier issues. Its use will reach further, and "indispensable" is a synonym for it.

E.S.B.

**MENTAL HYGIENE IN OLD AGE.** New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1937, pp. 50.

Consisting of six papers in the form of a series of lectures offered by the New York City Committee on Mental Hygiene of the State Charities Aid Association during the spring of 1937, this pamphlet deals with the physical, physiological, mental hygiene, and sociopsychological aspects of old age. These papers should be most helpful to all social workers who are engaged in the old age assistance program. Particularly illuminating are the presentations given by two psychiatrists, Doctors A. Kardiner and K. M. Bowman, discussing the psychological factors and the types and special factors of mental illness in old age. Equally inter-



esting are the papers prepared by Dr. F. D. Zeman, Dr. A. E. Cohn, Flora Fox, and Gladys Fisher, who approach the problems of old age from the standpoints of physical illness and mental attitudes, physiological changes in the aging process, family life and relationships, and mental hygiene problems, respectively.

A.S.Y.C.

**THE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS OF RECIPIENTS OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN UPSTATE AND METROPOLITAN NEW YORK.** By CHRISTINE MARGARET MORGAN. New York: Archives of Psychology, No. 214, Columbia University, 1937, pp. 131.

This study of the attitudes and adjustments of 381 recipients of Old Age Allowances was financed by the class of 1880 of Vassar College in honor of one of the members of the class, Dr. Lillian J. Martin, founder of the Old Age Center in San Francisco and author of *Sweeping the Cobwebs* and *Salvaging Old Age*. The initial purpose of this study was to understand the determining factors which make for happiness in old age. The findings are as follows: (1) Old persons are not all alike. Certain alleged personality traits exhibited by the old are as varied as those shown by a group of young people. (2) The factors which are found to be associated with good adjustment and happiness in old age are: good health; pleasant social and emotional environment; possession of hobbies and outside interests; economic security; work and worklike activities. (3) Old people studied reveal the desire for personal independence, the desire for recognition, response. (4) The study shows quantitative evidence of the difference in attitudes of old persons who are brought up in different cultural backgrounds and values.

A.S.Y.C.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONTANA POOR LAW.** By FREDERIC R. VEEDER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. vi+131.

This is one of a series of Social Service Monographs dealing with the poor laws of various states. The object is to trace the development of poor laws and their legislation. Montana's laws have been liberally interpreted by the State Supreme Court, which makes this report especially important for the Public Assistance aspects of the Social Security Act.



## Races and Culture

THE SOCIOLOGICAL WORLD. By Yenta Sociological Publications Committee. Peiping: Yenching University, June, 1938, Volume X, pp. 440.

The articles are in the Chinese language, but English and French abstracts appear toward the end of the volume, dealing with such subjects as changes in the Chinese language, thought forms, and culture, the sociology and knowledge, and social stability in North China village life.

M.H.N.

STUDIES IN SUBURBANIZATION IN CONNECTICUT. By N. L. WHETTEN and R. F. FIELD. Storrs: Connecticut Agricultural College, 1938, Bulletin 226, pp. 121.

A study of Norwich, an industrial part-time farming area, which is the second of a series of studies of suburbanization in the state of Connecticut designed to describe the migration of population into rural areas immediately adjacent to cities and to indicate the social and economic adjustments resulting from the suburban movement.

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## Social Welfare

CO-ORDINATING COUNCILS IN CALIFORNIA. By KENNETH S. BEAN. Sacramento: California State Department of Education, Bulletin No. 11, September 1, 1938, pp. xiv+54.

This survey of co-ordinating councils in California deals with certain community problems requiring co-operative action, the variety of co-operative councils, the development and types of co-ordinating councils, and the major problems in community co-ordination. Suggestions are given as to how councils may be made more effective, the opinions of school administrators are noted, and a selected bibliography is appended. The state now has one hundred twenty-six local councils of which more than half are in Los Angeles County. Two main types of councils are discernible; one has its membership restricted to professional leaders, and the other has a wider membership of both professional and lay persons.

M.H.N.



**HEALTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT.** By LEONARD C. MARSH in collaboration with A. GRANT FLEMING and C. F. BLACKLER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xxv+243.

This Canadian study begins with an examination of the health of some thousands of unemployed in Montreal. As is to be expected, underweight and malnutrition were found to a larger extent among them than among employed workers. A higher rate of tuberculosis was also discovered. The percentage of those having poor teeth was high, and an abnormal amount of throat and nose troubles prevailed. Because there was found to be a high rate of venereal disease, the opinion was expressed that these diseases are more common where the environment is poorest. Many of the unemployed also showed psychoneurotic trends.

A group of boys from 14 to 18 years of age was also studied. These boys were unemployed or had never had a chance for steady work. They too showed a high percentage of physical ailments and handicaps. In a study made of families receiving care from the social agencies it was found that in spite of fairly satisfactory food budgets many of these families suffered from malnutrition. Accordingly, doubts were raised as to the adequacy of relief.

Part V deals with the subject of medical care. In this respect conditions in Canada are far from uniform and in some of the provinces quite inadequate. In some communities medical relief has been extended to the unemployed by doctors organized under the panel system. Fees and charges are established at definite rates, but these seem to be higher than the rates for similar services that have been established in this country.

In an early chapter the book reviews briefly the statistical findings and the recommendations of the American Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. In the closing chapters it wrestles with the problems of health insurance and state medicine. Opinion among Canadian doctors is more progressive than that among physicians in the United States. Forward steps in the direction of health insurance and equitable methods of procuring medical care are anticipated.

G.B.M.

**THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER.** A Statistical Study of Human Relations in a Group of Manual Workers. By T. N. WHITEHEAD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, Vol. I-II.

These two volumes represent a long-time, controlled study and analysis of a small group of working women in the Hawthorne Branch of the Western Electric Company who are engaged in the repetitive



assembly of small relays. The experiment was conducted for the purpose of ascertaining just how much of an effect the wider social and industrial environment had upon a small, selected group of workers in the plant. One portion of the first volume discusses the effect on work behavior of certain changes in their material environment; another gives a detailed description of the daily lives of the workers, indicating their interests and their attitudes toward one another as well as toward outside affairs; while still another shows the interaction behavior of these women and the results of this upon their technical performances. One of the significant findings of the experiment was that during the five-year test period the group's graph of accomplishment showed a definitely defined direction of increasing speed, testifying perhaps to the good effects of a well-knit and understanding social organism of workers and of the good will established between the management and the group. The investigation took into account such variables as specific days of the week, changes in social relationships among workers, hours of rest, vacations and holidays, and temperature and humidity, noting by detailed statistical reports just what relationships existed between them and the work performances. A most interesting chapter is devoted to narrating the conversation that took place among the operators while at their work benches. The second volume is devoted almost in its entirety to a series of eighty-one charts which are graphic explanations of the exposition in the first volume. The work should be of inestimable value for executives and industrial supervisors.

M.J.V.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION FOR THE ADOLESCENT GIRL IN HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE. By ROSALIND CASSIDY. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., Inc., 1938, pp. xvi+231.

This book presents bases and methods for replanning the curriculum in physical education for adolescent girls. In formulating principles on which to revise the curricula, the author displays a thorough knowledge of both the social and personal factors that must be considered. The first part of the book is concerned with the needs of the adolescent girl and with the formulation of understandings on which the remaining chapters are based. The author conceives these needs as falling into five general areas. Briefly, they are the areas of personal health and development, establishing satisfactory social and heterosexual relationships, getting free of family domination, earning a living, and building a philosophy by which to live. After defining these needs, the author presents



an organismic philosophy of education "which views the total unit of organism-and-environment as the purposive, behaving, developing personality." The writer then defines physical education and health education in relation to this organismic educational philosophy. "The aim of education," says Professor Cassidy, "is the continuous orienting of the individual in the persistent problems of living." Physical education and health education share this aim. In the remaining chapters a method is described for curriculum replanning and suggestions are made as to how an individualized program in physical education may be applied. The name "Self-Survey and Self-Direction" is given to a method which enables the student to see her own needs, make a plan of action, and evaluate her progress. Finally, new directions in organization and administration necessitated by individualized physical education are indicated. A valuable bibliography is given and case material of some length is included in the appendix.

D.M.

**PRISONS AND BEYOND.** By SANFORD BATES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. xiii+334.

**AMERICAN PRISONS: A STUDY IN AMERICAN SOCIAL HISTORY PRIOR TO 1915.** By BLAKE MCKELVEY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. xiii+242.

**FEDERAL OFFENDERS: 1936-37.** By Bureau of Prisons, U. S. Department of Justice. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Press, 1938, pp. xi+344.

Sanford Bates is a masterful writer, a careful scientific student and observer of a wide variety of personal, social, and economic conditions that have produced prisons, crimes, and criminals. His extensive experience stands him in good stead. He writes objectively, convincingly, authoritatively, and with insight and sympathetic understanding. In addition to giving us the history of prisons, the cost of crime, the causes of crime, "the paraphernalia" of prison reform, and realistic descriptions of Leavenworth, McNeil Island, Alcatraz, and other federal prisons, he discusses at length such searching questions as: Should prisoners work when others cannot? What has science contributed to prison reform and understanding of prisoners? Should we have guards or leaders, a spoils system or civil service, prison discipline and punishment or individualized treatment?

He offers the following alternatives to imprisonment: camps under competent leadership, an adequate system of federal probation, judiciously imposed fines, individualized treatment and education under



highly skilled and scientifically trained men and women, and community organization for crime prevention.

Mr. Bates sees the sources of unadjustment in family, school, industry, and communal life as well as the individual and personal factors which underlie crime and juvenile delinquency. He appreciates the fact that a civilization in transition is bound to produce unadjustment, which with inadequate police, court, and penal procedure is bound to produce delinquency and crime.

The book is well and interestingly written for both the professional and the lay reader.

*American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915* by Blake McKelvey "records the labors of several fairly clearly defined generations of builders and reformers and traces their notable strides toward penological realism." Backgrounds and early makeshifts, theories, failures, and reorganization movement of the nineteenth century, convict labor, pedagogical penology, politics in prison management, individualized care in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are presented with considerable vividness. The bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter should prove of value to those who wish a more extensive social history of prison reform.

*Federal Offenders: 1936-37* is a review of the work of the Federal Bureau of Prisons during the year ending June 30, 1937, and includes statistics of federal prisoners and of federal parole and probation. It contains a wealth of admirably organized information on federal penitentiaries, federal reformatories, federal prison camps and jails.

E.F.Y.

#### A PEDIATRICIAN IN SEARCH OF MENTAL HYGIENE.

By BRONSON CROTHERS. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937, pp. xix+271.

The title of this short treatise is well selected by the author, for his discussion clearly reviews the necessity for all those interested in the well-being of the child really to "know" the child. Since Dr. Crothers is an extremely competent pediatrician, he writes from the point of view of one, indicating that the pediatricians as a group are consulted about problems concerned with mental and emotional factors of their young patients, and yet few have really adequate training to deal scientifically with such problems. Pediatricians see the child's whole problem from certain angles, psychiatrists from others, and social workers from still others. Since the training curricula for all these are already crowded,



it is quite impossible to argue for the inclusion of more subject matter from the specialized fields so that there might begin to appear master students of all three fields. But wisely, Dr. Crothers feels the need for discovering ways of co-operation among psychologists, medical practitioners, educators, and social workers so that all may contribute to the health of the child and enrich the knowledge of all. The central theme of the book indicates the procedure by which this may be done.

M.J.V.

**THE WOMEN IN THE HOUSE:** Stories of Household Employment. Edited by RUTH SERGEE. New York: The Woman's Press, 1938, pp. xii+149.

**FAIR AND CLEAR IN THE HOME. A SYMPOSIUM ON HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT.** Edited by DOROTHY P. WELLS and CAROL BIBA. New York: The Woman's Press, 1936, pp. 79.

The first report deals with the problems and adjustments involved in household employment relationships. The question of wages, hours, living arrangements, use of leisure time, house privileges, vacations, personal relations, the child in the home, status, accidents, and various special problems are tersely presented by means of actual cases in which problems pertaining to these situations have occurred. The material was prepared under the general direction of The Household Employment Committee of the Chicago Y.W.C.A.

The other volume is a résumé of a symposium on the intricate problem of finding suitable household workers and of establishing and maintaining a very real personal relationship between employer and employee so as to relieve tensions and thus create an atmosphere of mutual understanding. The human element and personal relationships are more important than the questions of wages and hours and more difficult to work out. Employment agencies need standards by which they are to operate in order to get the best results in meeting the needs of both employers and employees. Household schedules are presented to serve as guides. Paradoxical as it may seem, during these times of unemployment it is difficult to find enough persons who are willing to take household work. They shy away from it and take it as a last resort. The low wages, long hours, poor working conditions, and frequently unsatisfactory personal relations, coupled with the lack of dignity and security of employment, mitigate against successful placement of workers.

E.S.N.



**VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR OLDER RURAL YOUTH.**

By AGNES M. BOYNTON and E. L. KIRKPATRICK. Washington, D.C.: American Youth Commission, 1938, pp. 60 (mimeographed).

A survey of the various kinds of vocational education classes and programs available for rural youth, dealing not only with the strictly agricultural and home economics phases but with hobby and other groups which have a bearing on the occupational preparation.

**GUIDE TO STUDIES OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE TWIN CITIES.** An Annotated Bibliography. By CALVIN F. SCHMID, RAYMOND F. SLETT, and A. STEPHEN STEPHAN. Minneapolis: Council of Social Agencies, 1938, pp. 474 (mimeographed).

This bibliography reveals that 2,485 studies of social conditions have been made in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, during recent years.

**A BETTER WORLD.** By E. GUY TALBOTT. New York: Henry Harrison, pp. 96.

Poems are a kind of autobiography, and this book of about 175 poems, most of which contain only a few lines, reveals some of the author's basic attitudes of life. Perhaps the indictments of war are the most vivid. The author's far-reaching urge for peace is likewise prominent. A love philosophy is frequently revealed. The wish for new experience and particularly for creativeness is recurrently expressed. A few sample lines chosen somewhat at random will serve as illustrations:

"Time is not life's true measure nor its norm;  
Love is the rule to which life must conform."

"And only love can heal the hurt of sin."

"Yes, there are new frontiers. The human mind  
Has far horizons wider than the span  
That orbits earth or sun; and all mankind  
Are like a forest grown without a plan."

E.S.B.

**RURAL RELIEF TRENDS IN WISCONSIN.** By GEORGE W. HILL and RONALD A. SMITH. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1939, pp. v+57.

The rapid increase of relief has called for studies of families receiving aid. Until recently little attention was given to rural families on relief. This study shows, among other things, that while over half the rural relief population was living in the open country during the period of



the study, from 69 to 82 per cent of the heads of families on relief were other than farmers. The median age of the heads of these households varied from 45 to 50, due partly to the successive elimination of employable relief cases by Works Progress employment, which also resulted in the relative increase of relief families with female heads. The proportion of the underemployed remained fairly constant. The Social Security program has reduced the general relief households having employable heads and children.

M.H.N.

**INTRODUCTION TO AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.** By FRED K. YODER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1938, pp. xx+494.

This is not a revised edition but a reprint with new appendix and recent statistics. That the book has been reprinted twice since 1929 speaks for itself and is indicative of the rapid development of agricultural economics. Twenty chapters are devoted to a rather intensive study of the varied aspects of the subject.

M.H.N.

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## Pamphlets Received

**LOCAL ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF A LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKING.** By BORGE BARFOD. London: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 74.

**PENNSYLVANIA PROGRAM OF LITERACY AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION.** By LESTER K. ADE. Harrisburg: Department of Public Instruction, 1938, pp. 83.

**WORKERS SEPARATED FROM WPA EMPLOYMENT IN NINE AREAS.** By VERL E. ROBERTS. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 22.

**AGE OF WPA WORKERS.** By R. NASSIMBENE. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 20.

**AQUATICS.** FRANCES A. GREENWOOD, Editor. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1938, pp. 71.

**INDIVIDUAL SPORTS GUIDE.** MARGARET F. NEWPORT, Editor. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1938, pp. 95.

**RECREATIONAL GAMES AND SPORTS GUIDE.** BERTIE HAMMOND and ALICE C. SCHRIVER, Editors. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1938, pp. 99.

**TEN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE AMERICAN FAMILY.** By CHARLES N. BURROWS. Indianola: The Record and Tribune Company, 1939, pp. 31.



WESTERN BOOKS ON CHINA. Compiled by CHARLES S. GARDNER. Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1938, pp. 111.

THE EFFECT OF MINIMUM-WAGE DETERMINATIONS IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES. U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 166. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 44.

A HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF STATE SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN ALABAMA. U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin of the Children's Bureau, No. 239. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 34.

WASHINGTON FARM TRADE CENTERS 1900-1935. By PAUL H. LANDIS. Pullman, Washington: State College of Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 360, July, 1938, pp. 40.

A PLAN FOR A CASE CENSUS OF RECIPIENTS OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. By MARGARET C. KLEM. Washington, D.C.: Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Bureau Report No. 2, 1938, pp. 98.

CARDOZO'S DOCTRINE OF SOCIOLOGICAL JURISPRUDENCE. By MOSES J. ARONSON. Reprinted from *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October, 1938, pp. 44.

ANALYSIS OF 70,000 RURAL REHABILITATION FAMILIES. By E. L. KIRKPATRICK. Washington, D.C.: The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1938, No. 9, pp. 93.

STANDARDS OF LIVING IN FOUR SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN COUNTIES. By C. P. LOOMIS and L. S. DODSON. Washington, D.C.: The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1938, No. 10, pp. 59.

STANDARDS OF LIVING OF THE RESIDENTS OF SEVEN RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES. By C. P. LOOMIS and D. M. DAVIDSON. Washington, D.C.: The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1938, No. 11, pp. 93.

STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE GREAT LAKES CUT-OVER AREA. By C. P. LOOMIS, J. J. LISTER, and D. M. DAVIDSON. Washington, D.C.: The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1938, No. 13, pp. 63.



## Social Drama

9

KISS THE BOYS GOODBYE. A Comedy in Three Acts. By CLARE BOOTHE. New York: Random House, 1938, pp. 249.

One of the theatrical successes of the current New York season is this brittle and witty satirical comedy, *Kiss the Boys Goodbye*. The great disturbance-over-nothing, the search for a cinema star to play the Scarlett O'Hara role in *Gone With the Wind*, furnishes the playwright with an idea for a character to expose and lampoon some current Americanisms, nourished by a great many Southerners and maybe not a few Northerners, for all that.

So is created Cindy Lou, Southern to the *nth* degree, who Clare Boothe declares in a preface to the play is "an American version of a Brown Shirt street brawler from Munich in a swank Berlin coffee-house, circa 1930." Cindy Lou, belle of all that the old South stands for, is brought North to Westport, Connecticut, by a film company searching for the real thing to play Velvet O'Toole in a movie version of the best seller of the day, *Kiss the Boys Goodbye*. In Westport, Cindy Lou's Southernisms are brought into conflict with a group of decadents from the North. The corrosive pen of Miss Boothe exhibits such characters as a movie magnate with lustful eyes, a comic news weekly owner with a scent for the lurid, a columnist with a taste for alcoholic brew, a rich and idle polo player, and a movie queen with a soiled past. All these attempt to put Cindy Lou through the paces, but virtue is triumphant in the end, even though the assured little Cindy Lou has to push her head into the columnist's stomach and shoot the producer in the arm.

Miss Boothe's idea of making Cindy Lou the infant Fascist with appropriately Fascist ideas and methods fails to make itself as evident as it might have, probably because attention is diverted too often to the rollicking and riotous satirizing of some of the other characters. Nevertheless, the revelations, bitter though they are, of the smugness of the Southern culture pattern, of the characters of many people who have attained immense prestige through publicity, of the weaknesses and affectations of many Americanisms are worthy of notice and study.

M.J.V.



# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH



## ARTICLES IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES

*(September-October, 1939, and later)*

Size of Superior Families in Brasil .....	JOHN B. GRIFFING
Socioeconomic Situations in Chile .....	ROCKWELL D. HUNT
Social Farness between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. ....	VANDYCE HAMREN
Planning for Normal Society .....	JOHN M. GILLETTE
Is a Sociology Laboratory Feasible? .....	MAURICE H. KROUT
Objective Selection of Group Leaders .....	LESLIE D. ZELENY
Adjustment Problems of University Women .....	SAMUEL H. JAMESON
Mobility of American Congressmen .....	M. SMITH and M. L. BROCKWAY
Mobility Factor in Population Change .....	ELON H. MOORE
Group Method in Teaching .....	MABEL A. ELLIOTT
A Filipino Race in the Making .....	ALFONZO P. SANTOS
Children's Worries .....	ROSE ZELIGS
Group Work and Group Education .....	BESSIE A. MCCLENAHAN
California Migrants .....	SAMUEL E. WOOD
Types of Employer Attitudes .....	MELVIN J. VINCENT
The Negro Press in 1938 .....	JOHN SYRJAMAKI
Amusement Park Patrons .....	JOHN F. CUBER
Causal Factors of Dictatorship .....	J. O. HERTZLER
Occupational Attitudes of Lawyers .....	JOHANNA B. SCHWAB
Spanish-Speaking Community in New Mexico .....	PAUL WALTER, JR.

## ARTICLES IN PRECEDING ISSUE

*(May-June, 1939)*

The Value Concept in Sociology and Related Fields .....	CLARENCE M. CASE
Verbal Stereotypes in Social Control .....	READ BAIN
Basic Concepts in Case Work Practice .....	MARGARET COCHRAN BRISTOL
Is Nazism Socialism? .....	JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG
Recent Trends in Rural Social Work .....	A. A. SMICK
Asiatic Stereotypes and National Distance .....	EDWARD C. McDONAGH
Korea's Social Dilemma .....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS